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EDITORIAL

WHO SNIFFED THE COKE?

In the closing week of August, in the third year of his interregnum, President Jimmy Carter consumed much television news time affirming that he had been approached by an amphibious "killer rabbit" while fishing, and denying that he had employed excessive force to eject the animal from his boat. Meanwhile, his White House chief of staff was denying the recreational use of cocaine while in the basement of Studio 54, a Manhattan disco. His denial was disputed by the lawyer for the disco's owners, who are embroiled in tax-evasion charges and who just happened to tape-record the reminiscences of the drug dealer who allegedly supplied the cocaine.

Elsewhere in the news, it appeared that W. Spencer Lee, an intermediary for Robert Vesco, the exiled neo-Ponzian, had approached White House aide Richard Harden about the financier's legal problems (after collecting an intermediary's fee of $10,000 from an enlightened Georgia businessman interested in the rehabilitation and repatriation of offshore capitalists). The President conceded that he had subsequently sent a note to then Attorney General Griffin Bell asking him to meet with Lee. Had President Richard M. Nixon sent such a note to Attorney General John Mitchell, the press would have been off in full cry.

The White House's denial that such an approach had taken place when Jack Anderson first reported it last September was explained by the President's "hazy" memory. Hazy? This is the President who had a run-in with the Easter Bunny and who, as Governor of Georgia, reported seeing a flying saucer. And who has, on numerous occasions, claimed close encounters with an even higher entity pursuant to being born again. Perhaps it is time to ask just what the White House has been sniffing these days.

ISRAEL & LEBANON
Ramsey Clark
Yehuda Blum

ANDREW YOUNG REDIVIVUS
Clayton Fritchey

NORTH SEA OIL HOLDBACK
Godfrey Hodgson

OPEN SEASON ON GAYS
Doug Ireland

FALL FICTION
Reviews of Roth, Kosinski, Vonnegut & Others

A REGULATOR'S VIEW

POLITICIZING THE FOURTH BRANCH

ROBERT B. REICH

The first and second branches of Government—the Congress and the President—are at this moment launching major offensives in their long war to gain control of the "fourth" branch. That branch—so named because its size and resistance to political control seem to place it outside the constitutional scheme of checks and balances existing among the other three—encompasses regulatory agencies both inside and outside the executive branch, such as the Food and Drug Administration, Occupational Safety and Health Administration, Environmental Protection Agency, and Federal Trade Commission.

Congress's strategy for bringing the regulatory agencies to heel rests in large part on the "legislative veto." By this device (which takes several forms in proposals now circulating on the Hill) one or both houses may review regulations before they become effective and veto those they dislike. This is hardly a new idea; the legislative veto has been incorporated in one way or another into more than 140 separate statutes (including the Lend-Lease Act and recent amendments to the Federal Election Campaign Act). The Ninety-Sixth Congress, however, is considering legislation that would enable it to apply the veto across the board to all regulations issued by all agencies, thereby arming Congress with its own assembly-line system to counter the mass production of the agencies. One of the leading Congressional supporters of the legislative veto, Representative Elliott Levitas, a Democrat from Georgia, says that "By giving the elected Congress the right to veto a rule or regu-

(Continued on Page 210)

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LETTERS.

IN DEFENSE OF OLDAKER

Washington

In his article on "Carter's Campaign Finances" [*The Nation*, May 15] Peter Peckarsky remarks parenthetically that, according to the *Rocky Mountain News*, Federal Election Commission General Counsel William Oldaker, "then an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission regional attorney in Denver, was demoted on July 27, 1973, and suspended for nine weeks for falsifying records."

This offhand, almost throwaway comment repeats a canard that adds nothing to Mr. Peckarsky's story, but is of considerable moment to Mr. Oldaker and his career. Mr. Oldaker was not disciplined by the E.E.O.C. "for falsifying records." He was disciplined because a young attorney on his staff did so, without Mr. Oldaker's knowledge, and when Mr. Oldaker discovered the discrepancy he ordered the relevant file corrected but decided not to report the man to his E.E.O.C. superiors.

There is a distinction between malfeasance and misplaced compassion that one would think apparent, especially to a writer who, according to his biographical note, is himself an attorney. One would think it equally apparent that journalistic ethics ought to require some careful checking before blithely repeating a charge that is both irrelevant to the instant story and of great potential damage to an individual's professional reputation.

Somebody owes Mr. Oldaker an apology. If Mr. Peckarsky won't tender it, *The Nation* should.

James P. Mooney

Washington

Mr. William A. Carey, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission General Counsel in 1973, who uncovered the falsified records, confirmed that the *Rocky Mountain News* account was "substantially accurate" on March 13, 1979. Mr. Oldaker refused to be interviewed about the incident and referred me to Mr. Carey, *inter alia*. I called Mr. Mooney after receiving a copy of his letter and he said he had no proof of his version of events but referred me to Mr. William Brown, E.E.O.C. chairman in 1973. Mr. Brown said he was never able to determine whether Mr. Oldaker altered documents, that Mr. Carey discovered the matter, and indicated he could not confirm or deny the exact details of the incident. Thus, prior to publication, the person who discovered the falsification confirmed the newspaper account. Even after publication of my article, Mr. Mooney and Mr. Brown were unable to demonstrate that Mr. Oldaker himself did not falsify documents. Under these circumstances I shall not tender an apology.

Peter Peckarsky

MARCUSE MEMORIAL

Waterbury, Conn.

As members of Herbert Marcuse's immediate family, we have been asked for our suggestions as to memorial activities for him. . . .

Herbert always felt keenly the importance of preserving and protecting the intimate sphere of the life of the individual. For this reason he had always celebrated the important private events of his life in the intimacy of his family and closest friends. For the same reason we conducted our personal mourning ceremony for him in private. . . .

Herbert Marcuse was a German Jew who was forced out of Germany by a Fascist government, and then found refuge in the United States. He became an American citizen, and always admired the diversity and acknowledged the relative political freedom that this country provided. Although he was not religious, it was important to him (and it is to us) that he was Jewish. The aspect of the Jewish tradition with which Herbert most strongly identified is the importance it places on the struggle for justice in this life, in this world: its insistence on the ongoing effort "to use life to help bring about a better life."

Herbert also was deeply convinced that human beings are, in their essence, political beings, and that it belongs to the very nature of a human being to attempt not only to understand the world but also to change it. Politically, he saw continual theoretical work as absolutely vital for an emancipatory socialist practice. He aspired to a very high standard of decency and humanity both in his personal life and in his political role, and his final words in a political conversation often were simply: "Carry on!"

It is our hope that memorial activities in Herbert Marcuse's honor would take place in the tradition of intellectual work and political activity in which Herbert saw himself. For those who might wish to make contributions in his memory, gifts to any of the causes that Herbert supported in his lifetime would certainly be welcome. Most recently he was actively involved in the attempt to obtain freedom for Rudolf Bahro, the East German dissident Marxist who was imprisoned for writing the book *The Alternative*. Contributions to that cause may be sent to the Committee for Rudolf Bahro, c/o Rudi Dutschke, Heibergsgade 25, Aarhus 8200, Denmark.

Erica Sherover Marcuse
Peter Marcuse

GUILTY ANALYSIS

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Your editorial on "The Boat People" [John S. Rosenberg, *The Nation*, July 7] articulates the long-standing commitment to humanism by American progressives. Yet a hidden sense of guilt remains in your analysis of the expulsion policy of the Vietnamese Government, preventing a delving into the tragic nature of the genocide of hundreds of thousands of ethnic Chinese who are Vietnamese citizens living on that land for centuries—none of whom deserve to sail to death on the high seas.

The unjust American intervention in Vietnam and the Chinese invasion could hardly be justifications for this new Socialist democracy to replay a holocaust. Moreover, one important fact must be noted: the forced exodus of ethnic Chinese from Vietnam occurred at least one year before the Sino-Vietnamese War. This indicates that an unnecessary racialism was planned by Hanoi earlier in its Socialist construction program.

To censure the present Vietnam policy does not mean that we reverse the vindication of her glorious struggle against imperialism, but to ignore her degenerative racial abuse doesn't right the wrongs Americans committed in the Indochina involvement.

Yau Lop-poon

The Nation welcomes letters from readers. Please furnish name, address and zip code. Name will be withheld upon request.

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EDITORIALS.

Blacks and Jews

The main grievance of Jews against blacks is that some black leaders have made common cause with the enemies of Israel. The main grievance of blacks against Jews is that some Jewish leaders have made common cause with the enemies of affirmative action. Part of what makes this so sad is that the objectives that matter so much to Jews and blacks ought to lead to mutual understanding, not conflict.

The moral case for Israel is that Jews have been persecuted as Jews. In parts of the world their persecution continues, and everywhere they are vulnerable. They are entitled, therefore, to band together for their own protection and, as Jews, to secure a land of their own in which they can help one another and resist their persecutors. The moral case for affirmative action is that blacks have been persecuted as blacks. It is not sufficient now to provide them with the opportunity to compete equally. For many, the persecution continues, and all are vulnerable. They are entitled, therefore, to secure positions of influence from which they were previously excluded so they can help one another and resist their persecutors.

The parallels continue (although the degree of victimization obviously differs) in that the establishment of Israel and affirmative action both have victims. Jews displace Arabs and blacks displace whites. Jews, blacks and everyone else ought to aid the displaced, but such aid does not require destroying Israel or abandoning affirmative action. The Palestinians are entitled to their own land, but not at the expense of the survival of Israel. Displaced whites are entitled

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to education and jobs, but not at the expense of affirmative action. By the same token, Jews and blacks may not claim that their own great sufferings absolve them of responsibility to victims of policies that benefit them.

The enormous difficulties of securing an independent state for the displaced Palestinians while preserving Israel or providing education and jobs for displaced whites while establishing affirmative action are only compounded by conflict between blacks and Jews. Black and Jewish leaders who exacerbate the conflict do not deserve their positions. Enemies of affirmative action among Jewish leaders should be identified as enemies of the moral principles that justify the existence of Israel. Enemies of Israel among black leaders should be identified as enemies of the moral principles that justify affirmative action. ARYEH NEIER

Rights of Gays

The indivisibility of human rights has become a cliché in the mouths of politicians like Jimmy Carter, but it is a concept too often honored more in the breach than in the observance right here at home. The way in which America treats its homosexual citizens is a case in point. As Doug Ireland points out elsewhere in this issue, homosexuals are the only minority against whose existence there are laws: in two-thirds of the country the homosexual is an outlaw, which forces millions of gay Americans to suffocate in their closets of fear and denial of self.

Before he was assassinated, San Francisco Supervisor Harvey Milk had a dream of a national march on Washington to put the case for homosexual equality before the country. That march will take place on October 14; its central demands are repeal of the so-called "sodomy" laws and Congressional passage of the Waxman-Weiss bill, which would ban discrimination on the basis of sexual or affectional orientation.

The Question of Intervention
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We endorse the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. Too many people in the progressive community seem uncomfortable with this issue—there's still a lot of social stigma if you're thought to be "queer." The best way to guarantee the rights of minorities is for members of the majority to stand up for them. The freeing of sexual behavior between consenting adults from governmental repression *is* a fundamental issue of civil liberty. It is time to rid our nation of the shameful, Victorian prejudice that makes same-sex love a crime.

Déjà Vu

The economy is in deep trouble, and the President is perceived as incapable of leading the country out of it. He has sought to restore the nation's confidence in itself, and in his leadership, but his appeals have not proven persuasive. He is, of course, a "good" man in every conventional sense of the word. He is decent, hard-working, deeply concerned and honorable. His religious beliefs, though not exactly in the mainstream, are undoubtedly genuine. He is a man of considerable intellectual capacity. His chief difficulty in coping with the problems of the Presidency seems to lie in his background and training. By all accounts he is a competent engineer and businessman, but—and this has been said many times—such talents have little to do with political leadership. Quite the contrary: to the engineer's mind, all problems are soluble through reason and rigorous thought; the challenges of politics, however, are virtually immune to such an approach. Only imaginative and intuitive leadership can deal with them. It is his tragedy that the President, in other respects so worthy a man, lacks this one essential ability.

It seems all but certain that Herbert Hoover's efforts at re-election will fail.

Military Assist

A perfect little paradigm of what's wrong with this society's priorities and ways of doing business was on display in Washington the other day. New York City, squeezed painfully by budgetary stringencies, went with outstretched palm to the Pentagon to beg the military to put soldiers to work tearing down some 10,000 abandoned houses that mar the urban landscape.

"The concept," said the Deputy Mayor for Criminal Justice (*sic*), "is to use the military budget to help solve urban problems instead of having the military budget considered as the enemy of the domestic budget." The proposed domestication of the military is wrong on every count. First, it should be noted that this sort of use of soldiers is characteristic of primitive countries where only the military has bulldozers and basic skills in construction (and destruction).

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In New York, of course, there exist not only squadrons of half-used equipment but tens of thousands of unemployed workers, including demolition men. They could be put to work on this cleanup project (assuming for the moment that it is preferable to rehabilitating these needed dwellings) if public funds were made available in a sensible way to a civilian agency. But the geniuses in New York's City Hall think they have found a free ride on the Pentagon's vast budgetary merry-go-round.

It isn't free, of course. The taxpayer will still pay the tab for this grotesque misuse of soldiers. And if the idea ever caught on nationally, governments at every level would be running to the five-sided building all the time to get Uncle Sam in uniform to build roads and bridges, repair buses and trucks, staff hospitals, man police departments, etc. Pretty soon the line between civil and military functions would be hopelessly blurred. And the military's drain on the national income would have found a new and sinister justification. It is a measure of our cities' desperation that this "concept" has been floated. It deeply underscores the nation's skewed social priorities. It's an idea whose time has come—in Paraguay, not the U.S.A.

Israel's War On Lebanon

RAMSEY CLARK

And Lebanon Is Not Sufficient to Burn . . .

—Isaiah 40:16

Lebanon is burning. Its people are denied the fundamental human right to live in peace with security of person and property. There are few parts of the country where gunfire, artillery, or aerial bombardment are not heard daily. Lebanon is plagued by civil wars, private armies, insurrections, refugee militias, 30,000 Syrian troops, 6,000 United Nations soldiers under the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) Security Council Resolution 425, constant armed skirmishes in Beirut and throughout most of the country, and terrorist action from all sides. The miracle is the way most people carry on their regular activities in the midst of near chaos while their country is reduced to rubble. There is death and destruction every day. It has endured for years. The United States has known casualties too; its Ambassador, Francis Meloy Jr., was killed during the civil war in June 1976.

But the latest intrusion of violence into Lebanon—the unremitting warfare Israel has unleashed in southern Lebanon beginning in April 1979—exceeds all the rest, and is unsupportable in law or in fact or in human terms. When a cease-fire was announced August 25, Lebanon had experienced more than 120 consecutive days of aggression.

In the past, Israel's attacks on Lebanese soil were justified as retaliations against Palestinian terrorist strikes from refugee camps in Lebanon. Thus, after the tragic Maalot massacre in May 1974, Israeli air and artillery bombardment in south Lebanon killed scores and left thousands homeless. And after the savage terrorist assault near Tel Aviv on March 11, 1978, which killed thirty-four Israelis and injured seventy-two, Israel invaded southern Lebanon. Twenty-five thousand troops with tanks and artillery, supported by aerial bombardment, occupied most of the country south of the Litani River. *The Washington Post* captioned a story by H.D.S. Greenway on March 25, 1978, "Vietnam-Style Raid Guts South Lebanon: Israel Leaves a Path of Destruction."

While estimates varied widely, the International Red Cross placed casualties from the invasion at more than 1,000, with 80 percent of the area's villages damaged, and 200,000 Lebanese and 65,000 Palestinians made homeless and driven north to Sidon and Beirut, already overburdened with refugees. In a report of May 1978, the Middle East Council of Churches stated, "Virtually the whole population of South Lebanon, both Lebanese and Palestinian, have fled their homes . . . some quarter of a million people including at least 62,000 Palestinians have been displaced and are in search of basic necessities."

Whether the reasons given for the invasion—that Lebanon had made the raids possible, that the Lebanese knew what the terrorists were doing and should be punished, that all Palestinians were involved in terrorist activity were valid or not, the latest raids have no such justifications. The new Israeli war on southern Lebanon cannot be called retaliation. Although there were claims that it was a reaction to four deaths at Nahariya, or that it coincided with President Carter's trip to Israel, it signaled a new Israeli policy—to hit first and often.

The Israeli attacks might be considered "pre-emptive strikes," or "protective reaction," to use euphemisms from the Vietnam War. But in mid-August, when a group of Americans and I surveyed southern Lebanon, there was no evidence of any military necessity. The Israeli air strikes were unopposed. The planes could bomb where, when and whom they chose, with virtual impunity. Israeli artillery and Maj. Saad Haddad's militant Christian militia, controlled by Israel, were operating beyond the reach of those they struck and usually behind UNIFIL buffers. Ned Temko wrote in *The Christian Science Monitor* on August 2, "The south Lebanese imbroglio may be one of the least reported battles in modern Middle East history." Lebanese officials told Temko that Palestine Liberation Organization chief Yasir Arafat had virtually prevented anti-U.N. moves by his mainstream Al Fatah guerrillas. Still, more than thirty U.N. troops have been killed.

Southern Lebanon is a devastated war zone. Heavy damage begins as close as five miles south of Beirut, where the village of Damur was bombed in late July and twenty-two persons killed. Southern towns and villages have been damaged many times over the years, but the last four

Ramsey Clark, former Attorney General of the United States, recently returned from a visit to Lebanon.

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months have seen most of the people driven out and nearly all major structures destroyed or damaged. Villages that once had housed thousands were empty. Schools and farms were reduced to rubble. Distant heavy artillery was lobbing shells onto Beaufort Castle as David Dellinger, Fred Jameson, Max Holland, Don Luce and I watched. A volunteer doctor from Sweden described daily shellings and frequent air strikes during his several months' tour of duty. He never saw military targets. Nor did we. There are none. There are, of course, able-bodied men with automatic rifles, machine guns, cars and jeeps. But they are mobile, scattered and incapable of meaningful defensive action, not to mention aggression. It is the civilians who are most often hit.

Tyre is a special story. It has been battered in recent years but survived with its population largely intact. Entering Tyre is like entering war-torn towns of north Africa, Sicily, Italy or Greece during World War II. Damaged buildings, rubble, a few people sitting in the shade, an occasional barely camouflaged machine gun position, several vehicles, a motorcycle breaking the silence, and dejection. Ancient Phoenician and Greek ruins, Roman columns, all have a quiet dignity in Tyre. Their tranquillity is in harsh contrast to the modern ruins containing the garbage of recent destruction. Clusters of Christian monasteries stand empty, ghostly, damaged, off the winding narrow streets and facing the sea in the old port. Tyre is empty, defenseless and in ruins. Marvine Howe, writing in *The New York Times* the day after the "intense bombardment" of August 22, reported that "the city of Tyre, which has been the main target of the Israeli-militia fire, appeared largely deserted. A gendarme officer said there were about 10,000 inhabitants in the Tyre area, which used to have a population of more than 100,000." Less than two hours after our group drove up the coastal highway north of Tyre on the evening of August 14, Israeli naval commandos ambushed two vehicles and claimed they had killed eight Palestinians in a "most successful" action.

Lieut. Gen. Rafael Eyton was reported in *The New York Times* as saying the new policy of initiating attacks instead of waiting to act in reprisal was designed to harass the terrorists, put them on the defensive and "give them a taste of their own medicine." "Since the operations began," in April, General Eyton said, "the number of infiltrations by sea and over land from Lebanon has been zero." *The Los Angeles Times* quotes him: "This is an anti-guerrilla war. . . . Ever since these operations began, we can count the number of operations carried out by the terrorists: Zero."

The casualties from the Israeli raids have been nearly all civilian and overwhelmingly Lebanese. Lebanon's Prime Minister Salim al-Hoss told the U.N. Security Council Commission, "The Israelis no longer even looked for pretexts, as was the case in the past and, contrary to their allegations, Lebanese civilians were their daily targets." He told us on August 12 that Lebanese were being killed every day, Lebanese property destroyed every day and the territorial integrity of Lebanon violated every day by Israeli planes, artillery and troops. He emphasized with special emotion the use of vast U.S. military aid to Israel directly against his people in violation of international law, bilateral agreements and human decency. Our U.S. Ambassador, John Gunther Dean, did not disagree, and courageously called the Israeli military action "a moral issue."

Prime Minister Menachem Begin, was asked on August 21 by Murray Gart, editor of *The Washington Star*, whether it was time for a moratorium on the air strikes against Lebanon. Begin replied:

> What should a people attacked this way, which not only hears the boasting about those attacks, but also promises to repeat them, do? Wait until there is another Nahariya? And then perhaps react? Wait until there is another Petah Tikvah, where a baby was killed? Or should we do something?
>
> We should, because if we don't carry out those operations, then certainly, without any doubt, those Nahariyas, Petah Tikvahs and other atrocities will happen. It is our absolute duty to do whatever we can so they do not happen. This is exactly why we carry out those operations. . . . What we can do is to defend our people before they are being killed, prevent their being killed.

Mr. Begin's answer is too irrational to be credible. Start war to prevent war? Kill to save life? It is more than the ten eyes for one eye, ten teeth for one tooth, that an American official used to describe the policy. Its implications are genocidal. The bombings are hardly surgical strikes, aimed solely at terrorists. They are terroristic, indiscriminately destroying any and all in their path.

Some other explanation is demanded and the major pastime in Lebanon is guessing Israel's real intentions. Geopoliticians in Beirut see the motive as creating conflict among Arab interests. Lebanon is the Middle East in a microcosm. Imbalance brings Syria into direct conflict with the P.L.O. Iraq becomes suspicious of Syria. The P.L.O. remembers its exodus from Jordan and is angered. All contemplate Egypt's tolerance of the nation that is bombing Lebanon.

The Lebanese political leadership, both Christian and Moslem moderates, the constitutionally prescribed Christian President, the Moslem Prime Minister, and their Cabinet, believe destabilization of Lebanon is the purpose. Set militant Christians against Shia' Moslems in the south, divide the army, support private militias, leave a people and a country paralyzed and vulnerable, a safe neighbor.

The P.L.O. believes that the aims of the violence are to destroy the Palestinian people and to drive them from the frontier. Yasir Arafat told a U.N. Security Council Commission in late May that "the Israelis wanted to destroy the Palestinians and that the shelling of southern Lebanon would not stop as long as that goal had not been reached." When our group met with him in August, he described the threat to his leadership caused by his failure to respond and his commitment to Lebanon not to use its territory to attack Israel.

Business interests and economic analysts in Lebanon think the waters of the Litani River are Israel's goal. Water is the most precious resource of the Middle East. The Litani is important to any comprehensive water plan. Only water can make the desert bloom.

Religious analysts like Gabriel Habib, the brilliant direc-

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tor of the Council of Churches, see secular government as the threat to Israel. Lebanon is a pluralistic society with a secular and democratic government. In 1977 Habib wrote in *Christianity and Crisis* that "defeat of secularism in Lebanon is essential for the state of Israel. For Lebanon to blow up and the Palestinians with it is to kill two birds with one stone."

Lebanon has become the most disastrous of all modern phenomena: a gentle place become the battlefield for other people's conflicts. Its capacity to affect its own destiny is gone. The United States has played an ignoble part. Our munitions are killing innocents. We continue to supply them. With weapons we supply we permit violations of solemn agreements and violations of international law not otherwise possible. Our bilateral Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement of July 23, 1952 with Israel and our Arms Export Control Act have been violated daily. When Moshe Dayan said the United States approved the raids, it was days before a U.S. Government press secretary denied it. But our inaction speaks louder than our words.

The United States should immediately demand the complete cessation of all violations of Lebanese territorial integrity. It should immediately stop all military aid to Israel if the raids continue. And all who would like to be able to love Israel and still love justice should implore Israel to stop the bombing. □

A Rejoinder

YEHUDA Z. BLUM

Hostilities flare up in southern Lebanon. United Nations troops are caught in the crossfire. Lives are lost on all sides. And attention is diverted from the true reality in Lebanon and its fundamental problems, which date back many years. The situation in the south is only a byproduct and a symptom of those problems.

What, then, is the reality in Lebanon today? Lebanon is an occupied country. It is occupied by two foreign elements. The first is Syria, which has deployed 30,000 troops throughout the bulk of the country. The second is the P.L.O., which has some 10,000 to 12,000 armed terrorists in Lebanon. Syria dominates Lebanon and controls its Government, whose writ scarcely runs beyond Beirut, if that. This stark truth must not be lost sight of. In the name of "peace," Syria fueled a civil war which led to the destruction of Beirut, to 60,000 Lebanese dead and to almost a million refugees.

The P.L.O. for its part has, since the late 1960s, occupied a large area in the south of the country known as "Fatahland," where it maintains the most sophisticated terrorist zone of operations in the world. In this area are concentrated 6,000 P.L.O. terrorists, with training camps, vast arms supplies and operational facilities of all kinds. About 2,000 of those terrorists are located south of the Litani River. About 1,500 of them are stationed in the Tyre pocket which reaches within eight miles of Israel's northern border. The rest, about 500 or so, are entrenched in the U.N. Force's UNIFIL area of operation. Indeed, the only part of Lebanon not under foreign control is the narrow strip in the south on the border with Israel, held by Lebanese villagers, Christians and others, who have resolved to look to their own defense.

It should be noted that the P.L.O. area of control is dependent on the Syrian occupation and in fact is part of the wider Syrian design. For rather than permit P.L.O. attacks on Israel from Syrian territory, Syria prefers them to be launched from Lebanon—and for Lebanon, crippled and battle-weary as it already is, to bear the consequences. In March of last year the P.L.O. launched one particularly murderous attack in which all the occupants of a civilian bus in Israel were slaughtered on the main highway between Haifa and Tel Aviv. As a result, Israel was compelled to move against the terrorist logistical operational complex in southern Lebanon.

In the wake of that operation in self-defense, UNIFIL was created. The pertinent Security Council Resolution—425, dated March 19, 1978—took account of the fundamental problems facing Lebanon and provided UNIFIL with a three-fold mandate, calling for strict respect for the "territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries." UNIFIL was established not only for the purpose of confirming the withdrawal of the Israel Defense Forces—which was acknowledged by the U.N. as complete on June 13, 1978—but also for "restoring international peace and security and assisting the Government of Lebanon in insuring the return of its effective authority in the area." However, UNIFIL's area of operation was confined to the very south of Lebanon so that there was no possibility whatsoever of its being able to fulfill its mandate. Anybody glancing at a map will readily appreciate how marginal and irrelevant UNIFIL was and is to the real problems of occupied Lebanon.

The responsibility of the P.L.O. for the present troubles in the south is clear. In 1970, the P.L.O. was ruthlessly hounded out of Jordan, and many of its operatives came fleeing across the river to Judea and Samaria to save their lives. Syria has steadfastly refused to let the P.L.O. operate from its territory. Rebuffed by other Arab countries, the P.L.O. subverted Lebanon's sovereignty and now enjoys complete freedom in Lebanon. Its headquarters are located there. Its bases for launching indiscriminate acts of terror against innocent civilians in Israel are located there. Whenever an atrocity is perpetrated in Israel, responsibility is taken by the P.L.O. in Lebanon. The P.L.O. deliberately locates its bases in refugee camps, civilian towns and villages. Its search for cover behind innocent Lebanese

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civilians, not to mention its brutal intimidation of them, was vividly and painfully described by the Lebanese Representative to the United Nations on October 14, 1976.

Addressing the General Assembly, Ambassador Edouard Ghorra described "the constant Palestinian intervention in the internal affairs of Lebanon and the intolerable encroachment on its sovereignty." He pointed out that in 1973, President Suleiman Franjieh "denounced the illegal occupation of parts of Lebanese territory by Palestinian elements." He recalled that the terrorist P.L.O. did not respect the many accords which were concluded with them over the years to limit their presence and activities in Lebanon:

> The Palestinians increased the influx of arms into Lebanon. . . . They transformed most of the refugee camps, if not all, into military bastions. . . .
>
> Common-law criminals fleeing from Lebanon justice found shelter and protection in the camps. . . . Those camps in fact became centers for the training of mercenaries sent and financed by some other Arab states. . . .
>
> Palestinian elements belonging to various . . . organizations resorted to kidnapping of Lebanese—and sometimes foreigners—holding them prisoner, questioning them, torturing them and sometimes killing them. . . . They committed all sorts of crimes in Lebanon and also escaped Lebanese justice in the protection of the camps. They smuggled goods. . . . They went so far as to demand "protection" money. . . .
>
> It is difficult to enumerate all the illegal activities committed by those Palestinian elements. . . .

In the present circumstances, the P.L.O. constitutes a threat, not only to Israel, particularly to its civilians in the north, but also a threat—a considerable threat—to Lebanese villagers in the south and to UNIFIL itself. Moreover, because of the P.L.O.'s cowardly policy, civilians on the Lebanese side inevitably are affected when Israel acts in self-defense, and no country more than Israel feels their pain when their lives are lost, callously sacrificed by the P.L.O. But Israel is faced with a tragic dilemma. We can either wait for our own civilians to be murdered, or move in order to prevent terrorist outrages. Israel has in fact no choice at all.

In striking at the terrorist bases in southern Lebanon from which the P.L.O.'s murder gangs launch their attacks on our civilian population, Israel is conforming to a well-established principle of international law. If a state is unable or unwilling to prevent groups from using its territory to attack another state, the latter is entitled to take all necessary measures in is own defense.

Israel's policy of self-defense is proving effective. Since the atrocity in Nahariya on April 22, 1979, when four Israeli civilians, including two little sisters, lost their lives as the result of a seaborne terrorist raid launched from Lebanon, there has been a decrease in the terrorist activities in Israel. Moreover, we have solid information that several murderous attacks were prevented in the last week by the operations of the Israel Defense Forces.

The P.L.O. has always been an instrument in the hands of certain Arab governments, but since the signing of the Camp David accords in September of last year, and especially since the signing of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty on March 26, 1979, it has become patently clear that the P.L.O. is operating on behalf of the rejectionist Arab states. Syria and Iraq in particular stand behind it and are using the P.L.O. as an extension of the "Eastern front" in an effort to sabotage the ongoing peace process in the Middle East. The appointment earlier this month of a former Syrian major general as director of the P.L.O.'s so-called Military Department is but one example of this policy.

In this connection, there have been repeated reports of increased supplies of arms, Soviet and other, to the P.L.O. in recent weeks. As of today, the terrorists have approximately 100 cannons deployed in southern Lebanon, mainly in the region between the Zaharani and Litani Rivers, consisting of Soviet-made 130-millimeter and 155-millimeter howitzers, and now a sizable quantity of 105-millimeter cannon of other manufacture. They also have extensive supplies of Soviet Katyusha rockets, which are highly mobile and have been brought up to the border for an attack.

Israel's position vis-à-vis Lebanon is clear. Israel supports the unity, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries. To detach the question of southern Lebanon from the situation in Lebanon as a whole will not enhance the cause of peace. Peace cannot be restored in Lebanon while a Syrian occupation army trains its gunsights on the civilian population of Beirut and while armed P.L.O. terrorists are allowed free rein on Lebanese soil.

This is not only the view of the Government of Israel. It is also held by leading Lebanese figures. On August 28, former President Camille Chamoun was reported by a Lebanese radio station as stating that the reason for what have been called the "Israeli attacks" is the P.L.O. presence in Lebanon. The escalation, about which there have been official protests in recent days, follows from the fact that the P.L.O. has received heavy weaponry and set up new bases in Arkub and other places.

> It does not matter if we go to the United Nations or we request an Arab summit. The question is whether the Government of Lebanon has sufficient courage to deal with the question of security in the south in all its aspects. The Syrian forces which should have deterred the Palestinians are encouraging them and giving them cover to extend the areas under their control.

Another Lebanese leader, Pierre Jumayyel, observed, also on August 28, that every time there has been an increase in hostilities in the south, the Lebanese authorities rushed to have international pressure brought to bear on Israel but have never exerted pressure to prevent the attacks on Israel.

Until the nettle of the fundamental problem plaguing Lebanon is grasped, nothing will be achieved. The P.L.O. must be evicted from Lebanon and the Syrian occupation of that country must be ended. Until these basic requirements are met, the Security Council and others desirous of restoring Lebanon's peace and sovereignty will make no headway. This is a sad conclusion, but it is a realistic one which must be addressed squarely—without looking for scapegoats or ways to avoid facing the real issues. □

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ARTICLES.

FREE AT LAST

The Fall and Rise Of Andy Young

CLAYTON FRITCHEY

DRAWINGS BY JAN SAWKA

Ever since the assassination and martyrdom of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., American blacks have instinctively been pining for a new messiah. Now in Andrew Young, they believe they have found him. Following Young's resignation (or ouster) as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, he has emerged overnight as the number-one leader and spokesman for America's black community. The crown that was King's is now Young's—virtually by acclamation.

Actually, this unique role has for a long time been more or less reserved for him; so much so that other black leaders were openly dismayed when Young quit Congress to accept the United Nations post. Because of his special relationship with Jimmy Carter, and the great debt the new President owed him for his 1976 election, many of Young's old friends and associates wanted him to remain outside the Administration so he could be free to exercise his extraordinary influence across the board, especially on domestic social and economic legislation of critical importance to blacks and other minorities. The fear was that the newly appointed Ambassador would not only be confined to foreign affairs but that, even in the international sector, he sooner or later would have to compromise his independence or wear out his welcome. Even as he was being sworn in at the U.N. thirty-one months ago, one longtime friend, who knew about the disappointments other U.S. ambassadors had suffered, remarked: "I think the most frustrating thing in the world would be to see this great and good man walking through the corridors of the U.N., hailed by everybody, beloved by everybody, but having absolutely no impact at all."

He need not have worried. Young's impact was instant, powerful and probably lasting. In and around the world institution, he has generally been seen as the most independent and influential American Ambassador who has ever headed the U.S. Mission to the U.N. He may, in fact, be the most outspoken envoy that any country has ever sent to the U.N. In the process, however, he did wear out his welcome, and he finally differed once too often with the State Department and the White House.

So, in the wake of the uproar over his celebrated July 26 meeting in New York with Zehdi Terzi, the chief U.N. representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Young resigned. The choice came down to leaving voluntarily or involuntarily. Once the Israeli Government publicly protested the Young-Terzi meeting, on the ground that it violated a U.S. agreement against any contact with the P.L.O., the fat was in the fire. The incident was, of course, aggravated when the Israelis also blew Young's cover story, which he had given the State Department and which the department passed on to Jerusalem and the world press. The "official version" described the meeting as accidental and without substance. In truth, it was planned by the U.N. Ambassador after he had been instructed to seek postponement of a Security Council debate about an Arab-P.L.O. resolution that spelled trouble for the United States and Israel. Whether he did this entirely on his own or with the tacit understanding of the State Department is still being argued. In any case, Young's mission succeeded: both the U.S. and Israeli Governments were happy with the subsequent postponement.

Two weeks later, however, the Israelis, seemingly with little regard for their own long-range interests, exposed the whole story—first by leaks to the press and then with the formal protests to the Secretary of State. Why did they do it? It is now clear that they were already troubled by fears that the Carter Administration was becoming increasingly sympathetic to the Palestinian cause, so it was tempting to seize on the Young-Terzi meeting as proof that the American Government was secretly playing footsie with the P.L.O. That prompted U.S. denials and a reaffirmation of our Government's avowed policy of neither recognizing the P.L.O. nor negotiating with it, as long as it refuses to accept the existence of Israel. The State Department disowned both Young's initiative and his cover story.

Despite the official disclaimers, much of the diplomatic world shares Israel's suspicion that the Carter Administra-

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tion has been feeling its way toward some accommodation with the Palestinians as a necessary step toward permanent Middle East peace. It is also known that U.S. representatives, other than Young, have been in touch one way or another with Palestinian officials (see editorial, "Peace Means Talk," *The Nation*, Aug. 25-Sept. 1). In the light of all this, it is not surprising that many Americans, white as well as black, suspect that Young is the fall guy, the scapegoat, of the episode, particularly since he was merely trying to advance an American-Israeli objective, albeit, apparently, without explicit authorization.

Without exception, all the leaders of the black community have expressed outrage and indignation about the treatment accorded Young, but privately many would agree with Marion Barry, the Mayor of Washington, D.C., that "it looks like things have turned out for the best," meaning the ex-Ambassador is freer to devote full time to carrying on the legacy of Martin Luther King. As Mayor Barry put it, "Now Andy can be more a real Ambassador at Large." Another prominent Washingtonian, the Rev. Robert L. Pruitt, pastor of the 1,400-member Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal Church, also struck a popular chord when he said the resignation of Young "has clearly made him the voice of black people in this country. We've had no symbol like that to hang around since Martin Luther King." In a roundup of black street reaction in the nation's capital, there were similar comments: "Thank God, we've got another voice out there now," said one. A second added, "I'm so glad he's out there. . . . I don't see why he took the job in the first place."

Despite all the crises he experienced at the U.N., Young now leaves the institution a more exalted figure than when he entered it. As Coretta Scott King, widow of the slain martyr, says, "Andrew Young, more than any other individual, symbolized the Administration's commitment to human rights—both at home and around the world." In Gary, Ind., Richard Hatcher, the prominent black Mayor, said Young "was the only truly powerful black man we had in the Government. The Jewish community and Israel don't realize how large a stake Andy had with us, and how important he was and is to us."

Since that statement, the Israeli Government has had time to assess the fallout from the uproar precipitated by its choosing to go public over the Young-Terzi meeting rather than deal with it by conventional quiet diplomacy. So far, it appears to be all loss, no gain for the Israelis. By undermining Young they transformed an old friend into a potential new critic. Over the years, as a Congressman as well as diplomat, Young consistently supported Israel. While an influential member of the powerful Black Caucus in Congress, he steadfastly backed economic and military aid to Israel, and encouraged his colleagues to do likewise. In the wake of Young's "resignation," the present leaders of the Black Caucus, like other prominent figures in America's black community, are reappraising their hitherto almost automatic support of Israel, and especially of that country's insistence that the U.S. Government treat P.L.O. officials as "untouchables."

In the continuing Middle East peace negotiations, Israel needs all the good will, cooperation and support it can get from President Carter, but, if he is human, he is not likely to be grateful for the damaging decision that was forced on him by Israel's dramatization of the Young-Terzi meeting. Carter had to choose between the heavy cost of ousting the man he called "a national treasure" or the even heavier cost, probably, of keeping him—either way, a serious electoral setback for the President. It is hard to remember when a friendly Government has put an American President in a worse political spot. In Tel Aviv, *The Washington Post* reported, "Israeli officials shrugged off Young's resignation as none of their business." Nevertheless, they must realize by now that he was offering helpful advice when he privately cautioned them not to blow up the matter if they wanted to avoid an anti-Israel, pro-Palestine backlash in the United States, especially among blacks. As predicted, the issue has severely split the black and Jewish communities, which is not going to make things easier for Israel.

Representative Parren Mitchell, former chairman of the Black Caucus, says, "Out on the streets, the perception, the feeling, is that the Israeli Government went out of its way to embarrass and humiliate a black man. . . . The feeling is that somebody did Andy Young in. And when you ask who did him in, the people say the Israelis." The Ambassador himself thinks it's more likely that "the Israelis were after the President." In any case, his rather detached view is that "nobody in Israel is capable of statesmanship at this time because everybody's playing domestic politics."

The story of Andrew Young's years at the United Nations is mostly one of controversy, frequently followed by vindication. The episode that ended his diplomatic career could end up as another example of this, with the public, and possibly the Administration, too, ultimately coming around to Young's conviction that a rigid policy of no-see, no-hear, no-speak vis-à-vis the Palestinians is neither sensible nor, in practice, feasible. It is one thing for the Government to agree not to recognize or formally negotiate with the P.L.O. but should this be defined as prohibiting all contact with them, even on a procedural basis? Young frankly regards such ostrich diplomacy as "ridiculous," and our unhappy past experience with a similar policy in other parts of the world—China, Iran, Nicaragua—suggests he is on sound ground.

Despite all the clashes between Young and the makers of foreign policy in Washington (notably Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski), his differences were even broader than reported. Had it not been for the clamor over the Palestinian issue, Young might well have been on the carpet by now for a broadside he let loose against Administration policy the day before he resigned in an interview with *The Atlanta Constitution* (which Carter faithfully reads). Washington, he told *The Constitution*, should establish diplomatic relations with Vietnam. He feels the United States bears heavy responsibility for the Indochina refugee problem because of its refusal to recognize Vietnam and because of its bombing of food-producing areas during the war. The Administration was wrong, he said, in planning even bigger increases in military spending. He criticized Carter's decision to build the $30-billion MX missile system,

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which he predicts will ultimately be scrapped. He also said that the United States should lift its economic embargo of Cuba now, rather than demand the withdrawal of all Cuban forces from Angola and Africa. Fidel Castro, he added, was "quite helpful" to the United States in negotiating a new Panama Canal treaty. All of these ideas, like many of his past ones, go against the grain of conventional thinking in the United States. Nonetheless, it is a good bet that sooner or later the United States will normalize relations with Hanoi and Havana, as well as shelve the MX missile.

Only a few months ago, on May 15, the Ambassador again found himself in a lonely minority when an impatient Senate voted overwhelmingly (75 to 19) to remove the sanctions against Zimbabwe Rhodesia. Andrew Young, alone in the Administration, openly crusaded for preservation of the sanctions. He warned England's newly elected Conservative Government that recognition of the Muzorewa regime would commit Britain to massive economic aid and possibly to military assistance, and suggested that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would think twice before reversing the policy of the Labor Government, and she has indeed done just that. He reminded Congress that African states, including Nigeria, our second largest oil supplier, might retaliate if the United States embraced the Abel Muzorewa-Ian Smith combination. As the controversy approached a climax in Washington, he came to the capital to speak and lobby against the Senate's action. When Carter made known his reasons for maintaining sanctions, they were virtually identical with those expressed earlier by his man in the United Nations. The House International Relations Committee ultimately voted unanimously to terminate sanctions by October 15 "unless the President determines it is not in our national interest to do so." It was not only a clear victory for the Administration but, significantly, future Presidential decisions on Zimbabwe Rhodesia are to be related primarily to America's "national interest" rather than to whether the elections in that country were fair and free.

Last July, when the House was debating Young's impeachment, and he was being called a "loose cannon" and an "unguided missile," a member of the Black Caucus, Representative Louis Stokes, said: "When the yells and screams die down" after Young's controversial statements, "no one steps forth and proves him wrong." The Ambassador was also buoyed by the affection and regard he inspired among most of the other delegates to the U.N., not least because he himself had such marked respect for the institution and listened to the diplomats assigned to it, many of whom still resent the scornful comment of Young's predecessor, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who dismissed the world body as a "theater of the absurd." Young also enjoyed congenial relations with the U.N. Secretariat, which over the years has had mostly polite but rather formal contacts with the U.S. Mission. Young and Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, were on "Andy" and "Kurt" terms. His standing at the United Nations culminated in an unprecedented testimonial to him at the conclusion of the last Security Council meeting over which he presided. Young was under instructions to vote against a pro-Palestine self-determination resolution, backed by the Arabs and nonaligned nations, but the proponents withdrew it to spare the American delegate casting a veto. The Kuwaiti Ambassador, Abdulla Bishara, said, "We were concerned that Ambassador Young, who has served . . . with an impeccable record for human rights, inside the U.N. and outside it, would emerge unblemished, speckless, as a fighter for human rights."

When he took office, he had singled out Africa as the region where the United States had the best opportunity to re-establish its credibility on the world scene, and lost no time in reversing Moynihan-style diplomacy aimed at putting the nonaligned bloc in its place at every turn. Young challenged the Moynihan thesis that the Russians were hell-bent on "recolonizing" Africa, beginning with Angola. He saw no real danger from Soviet or Cuban involvement in southern Africa because "there isn't a rebel group that won't turn to the United States" for trade and economic dealings "once it's in power." He said he didn't know of a place in Africa where the Russians have made any contributions to development. "They will contribute to destruction," he said, "but not to development."

Although Young had visited Africa a half-dozen times in an unofficial capacity, one of his first moves as U.N. Ambassador was a brief good-will tour of the continent. He was cheered by his reception, especially in Nigeria, Africa's largest country. Relations between that key country and the United States had become so strained over Angola that Nigeria had on three occasions refused to receive Henry Kissinger when he was Secretary of State. Relations improved so much under Young that the Nigerian Foreign Minister now calls him "the symbol of a new and constructive U.S. policy toward Africa."

Soon after that first trip, however, the new Ambassador came under fire for observing that "in a sense" he thought Cuba was a "stabilizing" factor in Angola. Young himself was surprised at the violent reaction in Congress, the press and some sectors of the Carter Administration. In his campaign for the Presidency, Carter had criticized the Ford-Kissinger foreign policy of supporting Portuguese colonialism for missing an "opportunity to be a positive and creative force for good in Angola." Although the President was momentarily rattled by all the fuss, Young stuck to his guns and to this day has not retracted his assessment of the Cuban role in Angola. Things began to look different in Angola when the forces of President Agostinho Neto, aided by Cuban troops, crushed a rebellion by supporters of a pro-Soviet faction. Two leaders of the dissident cabal were purged from the ruling party after they accused it of being anti-Soviet.

When Marxist governments come to power, they generally expropriate foreign properties, but the Neto Government has fostered and protected (with Cuban troops) the huge Gulf Oil Corporation installation at Cabinda, the largest private industry in the country. President Neto (with Cuban support) has said publicly that he "desires" and is "prepared for" diplomatic relations with the United States. Young says Angolan leaders told him, "Please don't do to us what you did to the Cubans. Don't force us into the

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Marxist camp. We want to be nonaligned." Except for the United States, every other major Western power has now recognized the Neto Government in an effort to free it from overdependence on Moscow. Many American business leaders would like to see Washington do the same.

Much was made of Young's warning against being "paranoid" about "a few Communists in Africa," but it wasn't long before Carter himself was exhorting the country to free itself of an "inordinate fear of Communism." When Carter launched his human rights crusade, singling out Russia for special condemnation, Young, whose own devotion to human rights could not be challenged, suggested that the Administration "let up" on the criticism on the ground that it would do more harm than good, with Russian dissidents ending up worse off than before, which is what happened until the White House, seeking an arms agreement (SALT II) with the Soviets, did let up. Since then, Moscow has markedly relaxed on the dissidents. In the course of this argument, Young inspired more angry denunciation by suggesting that America's own record on human and civil rights was hardly spotless. He talked loosely about there being "political prisoners" in the United States, although he would have been on sounder ground if he had cited the American record on slavery, the denial of suffrage to women until 1920, the long suppression of the labor movement by massacres, injunctions and jailings, and the shootings and arrests during the civil rights movement.

At a time when the President was being pushed by some of his advisers to exploit Russia's evident desire for a new SALT agreement by relating it to Soviet behavior on other fronts, Young publicly warned against such a "linkage" policy. "I would be very cautious about that," he said. "I don't think it's in our interest, because of adventures that we oppose in Africa, to make a linkage which would require us not to sign a strategic arms limitation treaty." Carter came to the same conclusion. In the Senate debate over SALT II, the Administration has opposed all linkage efforts. The President also went out of his way subsequently to say that he now agreed that the disciplined Cuban soldiers helped to settle things down in Angola. "It obviously stabilized the situation," Carter said, "and I think the present Angolan Government is likely to stay in power," as it has.

Obviously, the President cannot be happy about having disowned his old campaign buddy. The State Department's indictment of Young now centers on the charge that he gave the department an incomplete or misleading cover story when asked about his meeting with Terzi. Nobody in the world of professional diplomacy believes State could have been so naïve as to accept Young's so-called "official version" as the literal truth. His explanation was patently designed to support the Government's claim that it was having no truck with the P.L.O. The Administration's "shock" over Young's dissembling is laughable. In diplomacy, disingenuity, the shading of truth and, when necessary, outright lying, are the name of the game. Have we forgotten the big lie about U.S. involvement in the Bay of Pigs invasion that the Kennedy Administration planted on an innocent Adlai Stevenson when he was our U.N. envoy? Or the fake story the Eisenhower Administration gave out to cover up the secret U-2 flights over Russia? Or what Carter said in the wake of ex-Budget Director Lance's explanation of his banking operations: "Bert, I'm proud of you"?

Even Young's critics concede that, in talking to Terzi, he was trying to do what he thought was in the best interest of the country. Now he is free to act without official restraint. Many opportunities are open to him. For the moment, he says he is going to campaign for Carter's re-election, but circumstances could alter that intention. *The Atlanta Constitution* interview clearly showed how the differences between the President and the former Ambassador on vital issues are steadily growing and deepening. As Julian Bond says, "It will be hard to convince black voters in 1980 to re-elect the man who didn't want Andy Young to work for him in 1979." □

NORTH SEA OIL

Waiting for The Windfall

GODFREY HODGSON

Seventeen or eighteen years ago, when I was writing a column about business in the City of London for my sins and my daily bread, I got a telephone call from the P.R. man to the venerable textile and synthetic fiber company, Courtauld Ltd. If I would be good enough to come over to Courtauld's head office right away, the caller said, Mr. Kearton would see me immediately. I had never heard of Kearton.

At that time, Courtauld, one of the ten biggest British corporations, was somewhat feebly trying to fight off a takeover raid from Imperial Chemicals Industries, *the* biggest British industrial corporation. The general opinion was that Courtauld was a sitting duck. The board of directors was largely made up of amiable members of the Courtauld family, more noted for their collections of modern art and their shooting weekends in Essex than for their talents or even interest in business. There were, from memory, only two non-Courtaulds on the board, and one of them was Frank Kearton, a manager who had come up inside the firm "the hard way," as they used to say in British industry in the days when most top management came up the easy way.

Kearton met me in the deserted and palatial board room —I have a vague memory at this distance in time of sumptuous paneling—and I put it to him that I.C.I. would swallow Courtauld with no trouble. Not so, said Kearton. Courtauld could be made far more profitable, on the

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basis of a revised estimate he had made of its potential the price I.C.I. was offering was far too low, and he, Kearton, proposed to make sure that the stockholders were made aware of this. Which was why he had taken the perhaps unusual step of asking me over for a chat.

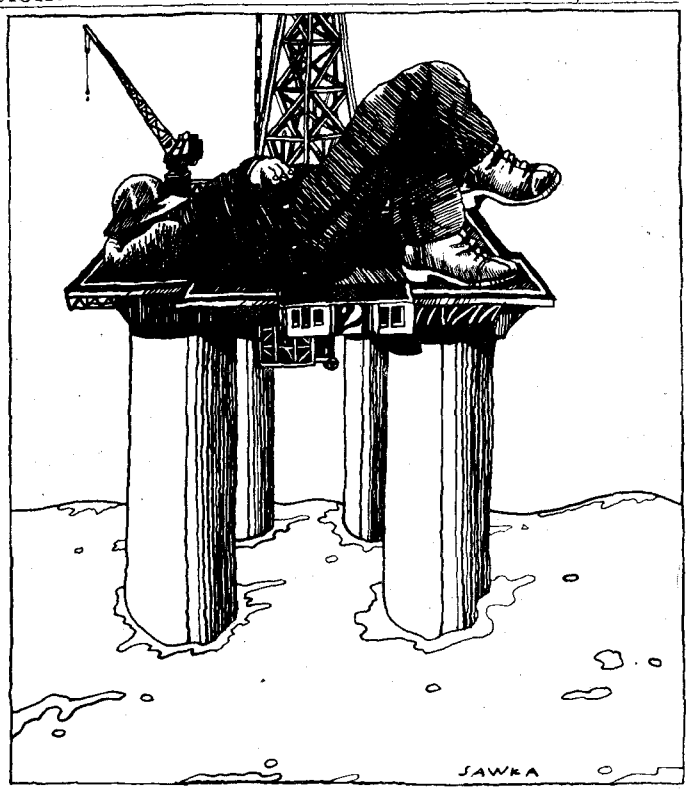
I was impressed. It was even harder then to get British businessmen to talk to reporters than it is now, and here was someone who seemed to understand how publicity could be used, and not just to massage his own ego. But I made no secret to Kearton of my skepticism. Why, everybody knew that the Courtauld management was hopelessly old-fashioned, said I with all the confident business judgment of a young man who could never even get his own bank statement to add up, let alone manage a sweetshop. What about all those decorative Courtaulds on the board, I said. You'll never get them to change. Yes, he would, Kearton said, simply. From now on, *he* was going to take over. He didn't say it in so many words, but his meaning was extremely plain.

And that was what happened. The I.C.I. raid was beaten off. Courtauld went on from strength to strength, at least as we measure such things in British industry, where mere survival is reckoned a triumph. And Frank Kearton became chairman of the board and one of the most highly respected managers in Britain until the Labor Government put him in charge of its new British National Oil Corporation.

There are two reasons for retelling this rather lengthy anecdote now. The first is that Kearton, who is expected to retire soon, has really got the international oil companies, and especially Britain's partly state-owned British Petroleum, rattling the bars of their cages. In a recent speech he accused them of sitting on the licenses they had been awarded to develop concessions in Britain's North Sea offshore oilfield in order to sell oil at higher prices later. Obviously, Frank Kearton has not mellowed with age. He still doesn't care how big they are before he picks a fight. And he still makes his meaning more than plain. In fact, he talked to the oil companies as they are not used to being talked to this side of Iran. He accused them of telling "outrageous lies" about his state-owned B.N.O.C. and of treating the licensing terms offered by the British Government to companies drilling in the North Sea as "an unbelievable farce."

The second reason for recalling Frank Kearton's past is to make the point that he can hardly be dismissed as a wild-eyed socialist dreamer. He is a capitalist down to the soles of his boots, and a tough one into the bargain. If a man like Frank Kearton is screaming foul, you can be pretty sure that what soccer referees here call serious infringements have taken place.

This ought to be harvest time for the oil companies in the North Sea. In Margaret Thatcher they have got a new British Prime Minister who is not only married to an oil millionaire (her husband, Denis, owns a tidy parcel of stock in Burmah, a holding company that owns, among other things, a big block of stock in British Petroleum) but is also a true believer in the kind of free enterprise oil companies like best, and so is her young Cabinet-rank Energy Secretary, David Howell, a former Cambridge economist turned Conservative Member of Parliament. Thatcher and Howell are doing three things, specifically, that the oil companies



ought to love. They are cutting B.N.O.C.'s role in the North Sea. They are going to sell some of its North Sea assets. And they are prepared to encourage private companies to play a bigger role in North Sea exploration and development. The United Kingdom Offshore Operators Association, which is the oil companies' club, is politely described as "trying to formulate incentives" to get the international oil companies to develop some fifty small North Sea fields with a total recoverable content of perhaps some three billion barrels.

This is what the oil companies have been waiting for, in the literal sense of the phrase. They hated the Labor Government, and they hated its British National Oil Corporation. Most of all they hated the Labor Energy Secretary, who was Tony Benn, leader of the left wing of the Labor Party. In effect, they staged a slowdown in oil exploration until their friend Maggie Thatcher could throw the rascals out and inaugurate the great North Sea bonanza. To understand how they could do this, you must grasp the way the new British oil exploration and drilling industry is organized, and the pattern of North Sea exploration.

The British Government grants licenses to oil companies and consortia of oil companies to drill in 250-square-kilometer blocks, in much the same way as the United States and Canada and other countries do. The only difference is that the conditions attached to such licenses are laxer in Britain than elsewhere. (The oil companies, as part of their tireless pressure campaign for tax concessions, deny this, but it is true.) Energy Secretary Howell is about to announce the conditions for the next round of licenses, which will be the seventh in the less than ten years since exploration in the North Sea began. So far a total of 371 blocks have been licensed: 209 or 54 percent to U.S. operators; 128 or 35 percent to British oil companies; and thirty-four or 9 percent to others.

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The British companies include the genuinely multinational Royal Dutch/Shell Group, which is privately owned by stockholders all over the world (including a substantial proportion of U.S. stockholders); the partly Government-owned British Petroleum, which in spite of its quasi-governmental status has an unreconstructed free enterprise ethos, and the British National Oil Corporation, which is not only national in ownership but has been swiftly and aggressively developed by Tony Benn and Frank Kearton to act as a watchdog on the clubby habits of the established oil companies, whether British or American in ownership.

B.N.O.C. had two rather clearly marked different activities. "Upstream," it had interests ranging from 16 percent to 33 percent in six separate North Sea fields in partnership with other companies. In two of these it was the operator; in the others it acted as a sleeping partner while another company—Shell, Conoco, Socal or Mobil—operated the field. (I am using the past tense because it is some of these equity interests that Mrs. Thatcher wants to sell off to private investors—presumably private oil companies.) "Downstream," Kearton had built B.N.O.C. up in a very few years to be one of the world's biggest oil traders, selling in excess of half a million barrels of oil for more than $600 million a month, and hoping to double that quantity within the next few years.

In addition, and this was where the trouble came, the Labor Government put B.N.O.C. on all the North Sea offshore operating committees. As one private oilman grumbled, that was like having the camp commandant sitting on the prison escape committee. B.N.O.C. is quick to point out that the remark is revealing. And it is. Oilmen don't like governments and their regulations. That is equally true whether they think of themselves, as American oilmen tend to do, as the free spirits who conquered the West, or—as is notably the case with B.P., which sometimes seems the last residual legatee of the attitudes of the British Raj—as born to hold the gorgeous East in fee. If anything, B.P.—though nominally controlled by the British Government—was even more hostile and contemptuous toward the Labor Government than the U.S. companies, which tend to be on their best behavior when dealing with the Government of a developed, friendly country. Certainly the British companies have an even worse record than the American ones in hoarding the oil in their license areas.

All the oil companies—British as well as American—have lobbied ceaselessly for greater tax concessions, even though the North Sea is proving a profit bonanza. In the first three months of 1979, total profits from North Sea oil and gas were 32 percent higher than last year—nearly $2 billion. That was almost a quarter of all profits made by British business in that period. The Labor Government was proposing to increase the Petroleum Revenue Tax. Because the Government fell, the increase has not yet been announced, but it is thought that even the Thatcher Government, pro-oil company though it is, will eventually increase the tax. By 1985, the total Government share in North Sea revenues, counting royalties, Petroleum Revenue Tax and other taxes, is expected to reach 70 percent. But by that time the total North Sea revenues will have reached an imposing figure. A recent report by the stockbrokers Wood Mackenzie put the figure at some $18 billion a year, but that was before the recent increase in North Sea oil prices, which are now only a fraction below the highest prices for comparable high-quality crude from African countries in OPEC. B.P. is charging $23.20 a barrel for crude from its Big Forties field in the North Sea.

The most serious charge against the oil companies was the one made by Frank Kearton that they have held back from exploring and drilling new fields. At the moment, only three new wells are being drilled in the whole of the British part of the North Sea, making a total of nineteen new wells this year, as against seventy-nine in 1975. The industry's story is that the biggest and best fields have all been discovered now, and that, with offshore wells in the North Sea costing several million dollars each, they can't afford to do more. Independent observers—whether academics, journalists specializing in the North Sea, or British Government officials—brush this aside as propaganda.

Frank Kearton's public outburst was based on a detailed study done inside B.N.O.C., which suggests that the oil companies are holding back on drilling as a pressure tactic to warehouse oil in the ground. The report's author, Martin Lovegrove, says that the deal the companies are offered in the North Sea is a "seventh heaven" and "an unbelievably soft option" compared to conditions in many other parts of the world. In the North Sea, for example, Lovegrove points out, companies can offset up to 81 percent of the cost of exploration wells against tax due on production from previous finds. Yet the study showed that 142 out of the 371 blocks on which licenses have been granted have not yet been explored with a single well. George Williams, boss of the Offshore Operators Association, lets the cat out of the bag when he says that the companies are not saying that those undrilled blocks—38 percent of the total—have no worthwhile deposits of oil; what they are saying is that they are not "economically attractive at the present," and there was a need for the Government to make up its mind how it proposed to encourage the oil companies to develop new fields. Sir David Steel, the boss of B.P., made the same point in a similarly silky way in a recent speech when he said keeping up levels of production in the North Sea would require "a massive involvement by the international oil industry" (meaning private oil companies, as opposed to B.N.O.C.) but "adequate incentives" (translate as tax breaks) must be present.

Already North Sea production has fallen back below expected levels. From a British national point of view, this has mixed implications. It means that we will not be self-sufficient in energy until next year. (Actually, for the first time in the twentieth century, the country was self-sufficient in oil for a month in June.) On the other hand, by the same token, North Sea reserves, which are expected on the basis of present knowledge to exceed consumption until the end of the century at least, will presumably last all the longer.

But what is worrying and angering a lot of people, including people like Frank Kearton who have nothing against private enterprise in itself, is that, at the very moment when

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the oil companies have been caught putting their own interests before that of the country, the Thatcher Government is planning to take both power and assets away from B.N.O.C., which at least tends to keep the private companies honest, and give them to the private companies. But that fits in with one of the strangest things about the new British Conservatives. No one can accuse them of being nationalist (except about black immigrants) when they can be counted on to put the interests of foreign oil companies before those of British consumers. □

THE NEW HOMOPHOBIA

Open Season On Gays

DOUG IRELAND

Ever since Anita Bryant initiated repeal of a Dade County, Fla., law extending protection of local civil rights ordinances to homosexuals, there has been a stepped-up political assault on the hard-won gains of the movement for homosexual equality. The latest example of the backlash against gay civil rights came on July 24 with the introduction in Congress of House Concurrent Resolution 166 by Representative Larry McDonald (D., Ga.):

> Whereas homosexual individuals have, over the last several years, pressed their conduct and behavior strikingly before the eyes of the public in an attempt to gain legitimacy, acceptance and recognition under the law, the need has arisen for this great legal body, the Congress of the United States, to finally address this class and their conduct. . . . It is the sense of Congress that homosexual acts and the class of individuals who advocate such conduct shall never receive special consideration or protected status under law.

McDonald, darling of the ultra-right, introduced the resolution at the urging of Christian Voice, a newly formed anti-gay lobby with a $1 million budget and a membership of 100,000 (including 1,500 ministers) across the country. (McDonald is a member of their advisory board, which includes a dozen other Congressmen and three U. S. senators.) Essentially, McDonald's measure would give employers the right to fire or refuse to hire a person if she or he were homosexual. "Suppose you hired someone and he didn't take a bath for a week, let his hair grow long—just generally became so unkempt that your customers complained," says Gary Jarmin, a Christian Voice leader. "You'd fire him because he was hurting your business. Now suppose that your customers find out you have a homosexual working for you and say they won't come into your shop anymore unless you get rid of him. You have to be able to fire *him*, too."

The bill has been referred to the Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional and Civil Rights, chaired by Representative Don Edwards (D., Calif.), a co-sponsor of H.R. 2074, the gay civil rights measure known as the Waxman-Weiss bill after its chief sponsors in this session, Representatives Henry Waxman (D., Calif.) and Theodore Weiss (D., N.Y.). While Chairman Edwards has assured the Gay Rights National Lobby that the McDonald resolution will "go nowhere," he fears that the resolution will "stir up a lot of anti-gay feeling around the country." And confirming Edwards's fears, a statement issued by Christian Voice's Dr. Robert Grant proclaimed "the beginning of a national campaign to oppose the National Gay Rights Bill [H.R. 2074]."

In the face of well-organized attacks from the ultra-right, the homosexual rights movement has turned to the old elements of the civil rights coalition of the 1960s for help, but all too often the answer has been a deafening silence—or outright hostility. At the Democratic Midterm Convention in Memphis last fall, for example, the opposition to bringing the gay rights issue to the floor was supported by Socialist leader Michael Harrington's Democratic Agenda, which led the left at that convention. Harrington's reasoning was that other issues were "more important," that his trade-union allies "just wouldn't buy" the gay issue (as if there were no homosexual members of unions). This line of argument was advanced in a front-page *Village Voice* article last year by Jeff Greenfield, who accused the movement for homosexual equality of diverting attention from the "real" social issues in this country.

This Harrington/Greenfield *Judenrat* mentality finds ready acceptance among liberals. Nicholas von Hoffman has consistently used his column to oppose civil rights legislation that would protect homosexuals from discrimination. *New York Post* columnist Murray Kempton has urged homosexuals to stay in the closet, comparing this to "the delicacy displayed by our Hispanic brothers and sisters when they conceal their beer cans in brown paper bags," while Adam Walinsky and *Harper's* editor Louis Lapham have become leading apostles of an anti-homosexual intelligentsia.

The New Republic, a bastion of editorial homophobia, recently ran a cover story by Henry Fairlie which contained a vicious attack on homosexuals—even going so far as to insist that those who say they are gay are not really homosexual at all but are simply "in retreat from the battle of the sexes." Jimmy Breslin last month wrote a column in *The New York Daily News* attacking *The Village Voice* for running a special supplement on "Gay Life," asserting that the *Voice* editors had turned a once-great publication into a "fag paper" that only "faggots" would want to read. Nor has *The New Yorker* found time to mention the homosexual civil rights struggle, and it has turned down a tasteful advertisement from *Christopher Street* magazine, the high-quality literary-political monthly edited by Charles Ortleb, on the ground that it does not accept gay advertising (with no protest from the host of *New Yorker* writers). This falls into the category of "crimes of silence"—as does *The New York Review of Books,* which has never published a major

Doug Ireland has worked as a New York Post *reporter and political columnist for the* Soho Weekly News. *He headed an investigative team that covered the Bert Lance affair for* New York *magazine, and is currently at work on a novel.*

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essay on the problems of the American homosexual (strange, since they ask Gore Vidal to write about everything *else*) and shuns books on gay topics. One *New York Times* columnist told me that only twice has he had his columns spiked—both times on gay rights, which is no surprise from a newspaper that has consistently refused to cover the homosexual community with the same attention it shows to, say, the changes of government in Sri Lanka.

Cincinnati—Some fifty people, young adults and teenagers for the most part, attacked a group of forty gays who were having a swimming party on June 30 as part of Cincinnati's Gay Pride Week. When the homosexuals arrived at the pool in a city park, rented for the occasion for the private party, they were greeted with signs warning "Fags Enter at Your Own Risk," and "Queers Stay Away." The pool had been filled with trash. As the gays cleared the pool, a crowd gathered screaming "fag," "queer," and other epithets. Police were summoned but left the scene after a few minutes. As soon as they left, the gay swimmers were pelted by the crowd with glass bottles, rocks and wood. One of the swimmers was surrounded by the crowd in his car, which was heavily damaged, and was only rescued when a television news truck arrived. Throughout this incident, no police returned to the scene, even though several gays called the police and described the riot in progress.

The political position of the homosexual in America is comparable to that of the Jews in Germany at the beginning of the 1930s, for homosexuals are the only minority in this country against whose existence there are *laws*. Thirty states of this Union still have laws on the books making illegal any physical expression of the love women feel for women and men feel for men. In most of America, police entrapment of homosexuals is still the rule, not the exception. Vague statutes against loitering, disorderly conduct and solicitation in most communities are employed entirely against homosexuals. Homosexual men are arrested for "touching in a rude and insolent manner" in Indiana; for "indecent, wanton, and lascivious acts" in Colorado; for "being a lewd person in speech and behavior" in Massachusetts, and in a number of states for "assault and battery" for simply *touching* a police officer.

As former nun Jean O'Leary of the National Gay Task Force recently told the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, "Consensual sodomy statutes are almost always enforced exclusively against homosexuals, unless the heterosexual situations involve prostitution. In 'lovers' lane' situations, heterosexual couples are told to button up and move on, while gay people are arrested for public indecency or sodomy. Two women have been charged with sodomy for sharing a sleeping bag in Michigan, and two men for kissing in a parked car in California. Two women have been arrested for dancing together in Michigan, and two men for holding hands in New York."

Rochester—Two homosexuals, Larry Ferris and Frank Garcia, were hospitalized with extensive head and facial injuries after a gang of club-wielding youths attacked the tail end of a picnic held July 15 at Durand-Eastman Park Beach to mark the fourth anniversary of the Gay Alliance of Genesee Valley. Some fifteen young men attacked twenty gay people at nightfall; the late-stayers were the remnants of a crowd of 200 who participated in the all-day celebration. One of the attacking youths was quoted as saying, "We simply wanted the faggots off the beach."

Stigmatized by the law, homosexuals have been targeted for attack by the organized right. Dan O'Horgan, former executive director of the Democratic National Committee, told me recently that the three issues that bring in the most money to Republican direct-mail appeals are "gays, guns and abortions." The McDonald resolution is simply the latest organizing tool in the conservative campaign against gays. It took a $1 million fund-raising effort to defeat California's Briggs Initiative, the infamous Proposition 6 that would have started a purge of homosexuals from the schools—and even of heterosexual supporters of gay rights. Another referendum, Initiative 13, was organized by two policemen in Seattle in an attempt to repeal that city's gay rights legislation. Despite such incidents as the raiding of a major fund-raising benefit in the gay community by twenty cops, the initiative was defeated. But similar efforts led by political demagogues and right-wing religious fanatics have succeeded in repealing anti-discrimination laws in St. Paul, Topeka, Kan., and Eugene, Ore. Homosexuals in another half-dozen cities are organizing to defend similar statutes against repeal.

The state of Nevada recently passed legislation *increasing* the penalties for homosexual conduct between consenting adults, while in Pennsylvania earlier this year the legislature passed a resolution attacking Gov. Dick Thornburgh's proclamation of "Gay Pride Week" as "officially setting aside a week in honor of persons who violate the criminal laws . . . [since] deviate sexual intercourse has always been a serious crime."

Fear has been the chief weapon of the anti-gay right. They have fed that fear with a massive propaganda effort depicting homosexuals as child molesters, a campaign that had its beginnings in the Anita Bryant "Save Our Children" crusade in Florida. (This slander is the modern equivalent of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, a czarist police forgery that accused the Jews of the ritual slaughter of gentile children.) Despite the valiant efforts of groups like the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, the courts have not been noticeably sympathetic to the attempt to free gays from legal oppression and discrimination: the Burger Supreme Court, for example, has affirmed the legality of laws against consenting homosexual conduct in a Virginia case brought by the Lambda L.D.E.F., and (in Washington's *Gaylord* case) the right to fire a teacher for being homosexual (thus giving the color of judicial protection to the child-molester myth).

New York—A Manhattan jury convicted three teen-age youths of assault on July 24 in the beatings of six gay men in Central Park last summer. The jury heard Michael Riley, 18, who participated in the attacks but was granted immunity by the prosecution for his testimony, describe how his friends entered The Ramble, a well-known gay cruising area, wielding baseball bats, a hammer and a couch leg, to "get us some faggots." Riley told a hushed courtroom how one of the defendants, Kenneth Straw, 19, delivered ten or fifteen blows to one man's head as the victim screamed and tried to escape. The beatings left former Olympic skating

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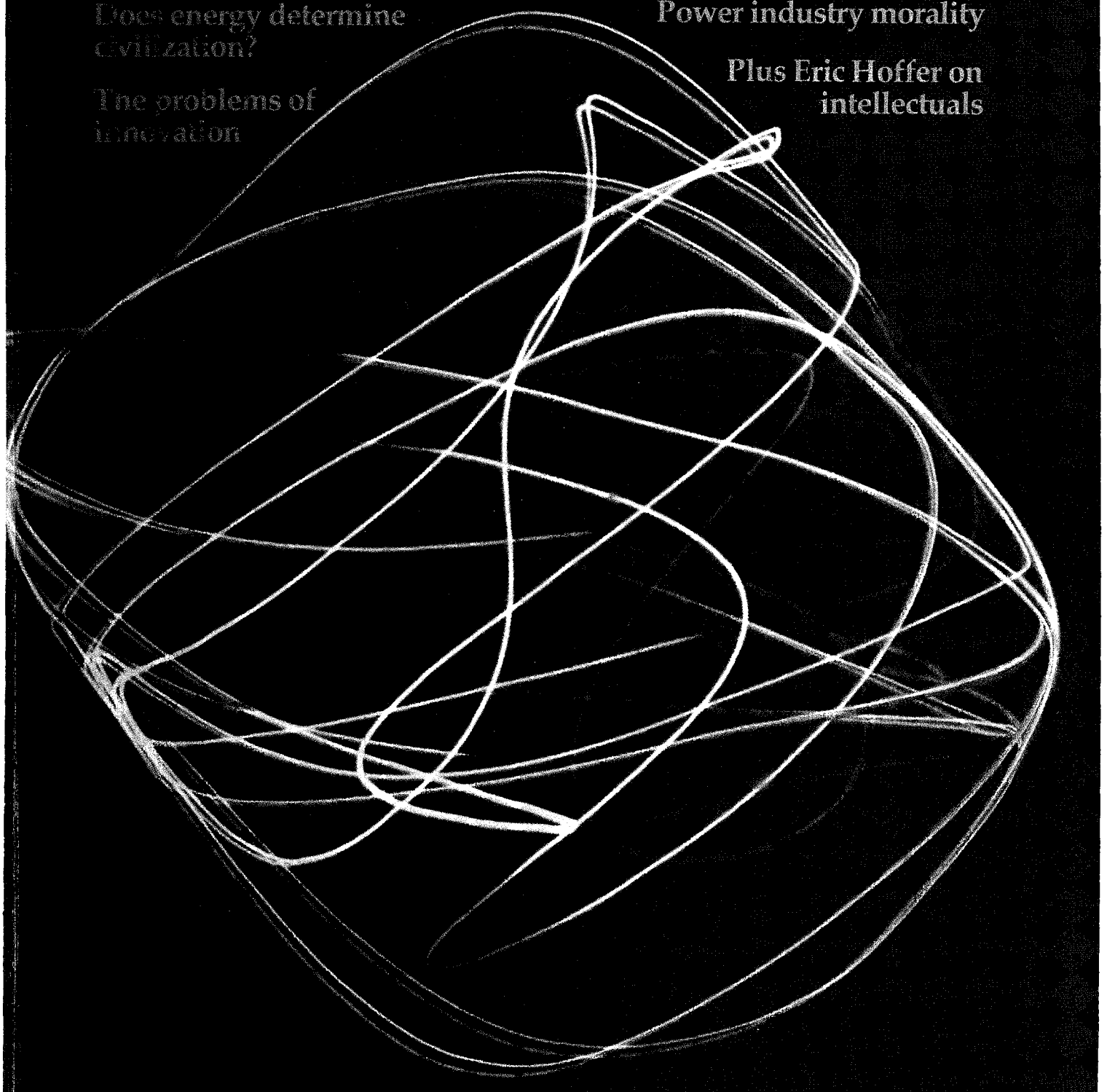

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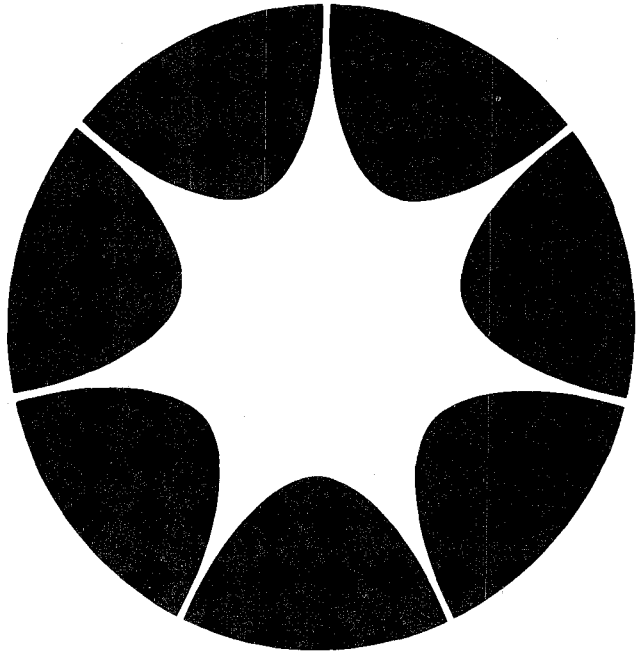
THE GROWTH OF LIMITS

by Chauncey Starr



NOTE: As one of the official events of the Edison Centennial commemorating the 100th anniversary of the electric light bulb, the Electric Power Research Institute and the Thomas Alva Edison Foundation were cohosts of an international Symposium on Science, Technology and the Human Prospect, held in San Francisco in April, 1979.

Some 45 distinguished, international scholars, scientists, governmental officials and businessmen delivered papers during the three-day Symposium. The Edison Electric Institute is making a cross-section of the views expressed by the participants available in this form because it is dedicated to offering concerned citizens impartial information on the various issues affecting the nation's electricity needs, usage and delivery systems.

The articles in this insert, severely edited to meet space limitations with the authors' kind permission, can only begin to suggest the diversity of subject matter and range of opinion presented at the Symposium. Readers interested in obtaining the complete text of the Symposium proceedings should contact Pergamon Press, Fairview Park, Elmsford, N.Y. 10523. In addition, a 45-minute videotaped documentary of the Symposium has been produced. For information on its availability, contact the Electric Power Research Institute, 3412 Hillview Avenue, Post Office Box 10412, Palo Alto, Calif. 94303.

Symposium is edited by Rees Behrendt and designed by George Kurten.

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We now live within a framework shaped by complex technology, and we can't help but be concerned about how that technology will affect our future.

I believe history supports this assertion: science and technology have continually relieved the limitations on man's ability to live in the circumstances provided by nature, and they continue to do so.

Science and technology have permitted enormous growth in the world population by improving man's ability to increase food production; to accommodate to harsh climates; to provide transportation and communication for the world's goods, services and ideas; to increase available resources and use them more effectively; and to live longer in better health.

Thus, science and technology historically have opened new frontiers for mankind, not only permitting but also stimulating the "growth of limits." I do not accept the premise that constraints on such growth are in view or that our long-range planning should be determined by today's perceptions of existing limits. I believe that a long future of expanding expectations continues to be an available option if we take advantage of the fact that technology is an unlimited resource of the human mind.

The real question we face is: do we want to accept the idea of limits as a guide to human expectations and societal planning, or do we want to keep alive the idea of expanding expectations and new horizons? If we choose expansion, we need more science and technology applied to a spectrum of uses and to the problems of dealing with the undesirable side effects of growth.

The recently popular "limits to growth" theme was based on the assumption that natural resources and ecology impose a near-term limit on our ability to continue to derive materials from the earth and to handle safely residuals of growing industrial processes. For proponents of this theme, the obvious course would be to limit the personal economic expectations of those now alive and to limit sharply the growth in the world's population. This is a seductive dogma, because if it were socially and politically feasible to accept such limitations, and thus reduce the worldwide demand for goods and services, we would simultaneously reduce the stress on our natural environment, on our political and social institutions and on our problem-solving and decision-making mechanisms. But is such a prescription acceptable from a social and political standpoint? Perhaps it is for the comparatively wealthy, but what about the poor people of the world? For them, limits to growth would mean lives of hopelessness.

The continuing debate on energy supply and demand epitomizes these issues. Those who press the view that man-made energy processes alter the natural ecology appear to forget that human society also has a complex energy ecology woven into its fabric. As with natural

Dr. Starr is Vice Chairman of the Electric Power Research Institute. This article is from his keynote address to the Symposium.

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ecology, any change in this total system of relationships will affect all its components. Popular ignorance of this fact has led to many simplistic notions regarding the role of energy in the quality of life, ranging from the idyllic notion that the less energy used, the better the life, to the opposite extreme, the need for unlimited abundance. Neither extreme has sufficient evidence to support its validity.

When we examine social groups with very low energy supplements, we find they are frequently on starvation's edge, ridden with malnutrition, endemic disease and physical misery. It has been estimated that one-fourth of the world now lives on this edge of survival. Given a free choice, such groups avidly seek more energy. The vehicle for energy to improve the quality of life is technology. And this is intuitively understood by the world's peoples.

Thus, if personal aspirations worldwide cannot be reduced, limiting economic growth would create major—and perhaps catastrophic—strains on our international political and social institutions.

I challenge the factual validity of the assumption that resources are limited, which is at the root of the doctrine of limited expectations. I believe that the resources available for use into the distant future are not generally limited, because history testifies that advances in technology expand the availability of resources. Technology does this by providing increased efficiency in the conversion of resources to human uses, i.e., less is needed to produce more, and in the extraction of traditional resources from the biosphere, as well as by providing methods for the conversion of dormant substances into new resources. So far, we have extracted only a small fraction of the store in the earth's crust. History also tells us that the apparently limited resources available to mankind in any one period of time become just a small fraction of the resources ultimately available to later generations because of the intervening contribution of science and technology.

As an example, let us consider the availability of oil. If oil exploration and extraction had been restricted to the techniques that were current about 1900, we would have been out of oil generations ago. At the beginning of this century, available U.S. reserves were about one billion barrels—enough for a decade then and for about two months of our present use. What oil was available then was found by looking for signs of seepage at the surface and by drilling around salt springs. In that period, we didn't have the sophisticated exploration, deep drilling and extraction techniques available today. Technology has enabled us to discover oil repositories miles underground and to force that oil out, as well as to obtain it through artesian pressures. And we've been able to open up oil fields under the oceans. There is no possible way that anyone without high-technology engineering equipment could develop a deep sea oil well. This is truly a frontier opened by technology.

This is a good example of how technology has kept increasing the available supply of all mineral resources and illustrates how science and technology are instrumental in expanding the limits of man's resources.

This expansion of limits has occurred with minerals, with food, with transportation, with communication, with health and with extending livable space in unfriendly, harsh environments.

There is ample stimulation to reassess the role of science and technology in our social development, to explore what they have done for the world's nations, what they mean to the individual and where they are likely to go in the future. Such an assessment is particularly timely for the electric industry. The major economic growth of the industrial nations has taken place parallel with and supported by the development of new uses for electricity, so the electric industry recognizes its responsibility as a partner in this growth.

Those of us pursuing the applications of science and technology believe that all progress in these fields is good for humanity generally and the developing nations in particular. Yet we do recognize the serious negative impact that some of the byproducts of these technical developments have had on individuals, on specific social trends and on the environment in which we live. We are also conscious of the possibility that such social costs might become so large that we must carefully examine what we are doing and perhaps better plan our activities.

There has been—during this past decade, in particular—a growing attack by a portion of the intellectual community on the social merit of the industrial section of our society. The electric utility industry is one such target, as are the automobile industry and the chemical industry.

A segment of the intellectual community has suggested that we should somehow restructure our society to remove the heavy hand of technology. This has been one of the popular tenets of the environmental movement. The basic question being posed is: are we the passive subjects of an uncontrollable technical system, or are we able to control this system to improve our destiny? I believe we must understand all aspects of such fundamental questions and assist our society in finding its balance.

Whether or not one pushes technological growth depends partly on individual philosophic beliefs and partly on the perceived prospects for technology. For more than a hundred years, most societies had unquestioned faith that technological growth was worthwhile. Our cultural conceptions of the role of science and technology are very fundamental to the average man. They affect his immediate activities, his future and that of his children and grandchildren. In the last few decades, our faith in technology has been questioned. And these doubts have created public issues bearing not only on the applications of science and technology but also on the creation of new knowledge. To some, the disapproval of the intended end of a particular science or technology means that research to develop fundamental knowledge should be stopped. But to do so would inhibit the potential for its good use, as well as for its bad. The debate on genetic engineering is such a case. In contrast, as an example of the stimulation fostered by an approved objective, the continual search for military superiority has historically extended scientific and engineering frontiers. It is an interesting commentary on the priorities of nations that this search for military strength has focused resources on new technology as no other social goal has done. It is indeed regrettable that our peaceful objectives are not equally stimulating.

It is my own belief that science and technology are powerful and unlimited resources for bettering man's condition; that the undesirable byproducts of their applications are susceptible to reduction by these same arts; that science and technology are the key to the "growth of limits" for resources and to the application of these resources for useful purposes, as well as to the breaking of constraints on human expectations and aspirations; and that future generations will be able to manage competently the world they will inherit—one that I believe will be better than the world my generation inherited. I believe this can, and will, happen, provided our sociological and cultural structures do not inhibit the intrinsically fruitful activities of science and technology—whether from fear of future uncertainties or from paranoid anxieties created by the doomsday syndrome.

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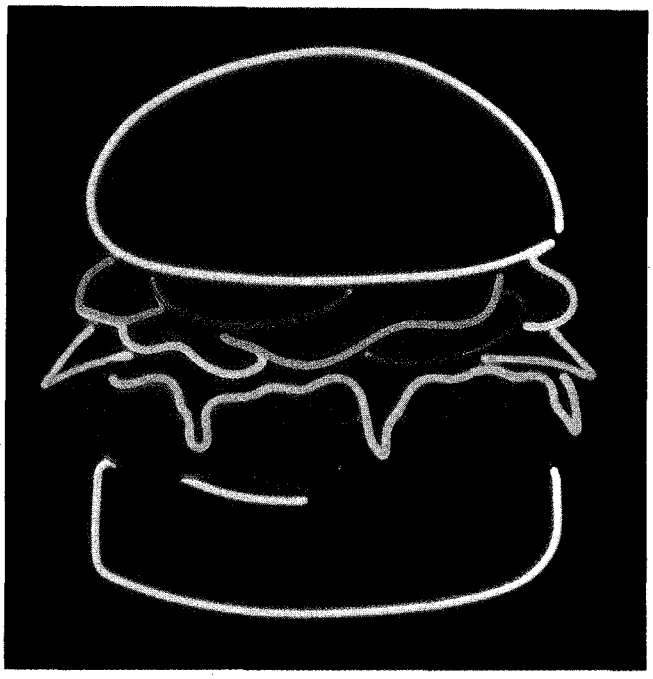
THE FALLACY OF THE ENERGY-CIVILIZATION EQUATION

by George Basalla



Among the critics of energy conservation are those who claim that as we use less energy we will become less civilized. They believe that the retreat from high energy consumption will lead mankind directly back to the caves that provided his first shelter. The immediate response to this warning is that the first substantial use of petroleum dates not to the Stone Age but to the period of the Civil War. And furthermore, that even a fifty percent reduction in our total consumption of energy would not transport us back to Paleolithic times, nor even to the Dark Ages, but to the 1950s.

Nevertheless, apocalyptic visions of an American society forced to reduce its energy consumption continue to haunt us. We foresee a doomed civilization, with tractors paralyzed in the fields, abandoned automobiles rusting on weed-choked freeways, factories as quiet as tombs and our haggard descendants facing a life of everlasting drudgery. These are strange visions for a nation that uses a 5,000-pound automobile to drive a mile in order to buy a half-dozen cans of beer that will be drunk in an overcooled room and the empties thrown on the trash heap instead of being delivered to an aluminum recycling center.

How did it come about that a people who use and waste vast amounts of energy believe that the alternative to high energy consumption is the primitive life endured by early man? And, even if the choice is not between the Stone Age and life in the twentieth century, what is the relationship between energy use and level of civilization?

The current approach to the energy problem ignores the fact that for almost two centuries energy consumption in the West has had an ideological component. High energy consumption has not only been associated with physical comfort, economic well-being and military strength, it has also been identified with the idea of civilization itself.

The tendency of the Western nations to equate energy use with level of civilization was accurately and satirically described by British author Aldous Huxley. Said Huxley, because we use a hundred and ten times as much coal as our ancestors, we naively think that we are a hundred and ten times better intellectually, morally and spiritually.

When energy consumption thus serves as a measure of the height of civilization reached by a nation, then changes in energy use will have wide implications. As less energy is available per capita, the nation is thought to lose its standing among the world's civilizations.

Those countries with high rates of energy consumption are ideologically committed to maintaining them, and those with lower rates are motivated to copy their energy-hungry, civilized superiors. This ideological commitment helps to explain why so many of the less industrialized nations felt it necessary to have their own nuclear reactors. It was not necessity that drove them to acquire them but the feeling that they might be left behind in this latest event in the energy-civilization race.

To simplify consideration of these matters, I will assume the existence of an energy-civilization equation. Although no one has ever formally written out such an equation, it has pervaded western thought for the past two centuries. It can be found in the physical, life and social sciences, and in technology, philosophy and popular culture.

The left side of that equation contains energy, a well-defined physical concept. On the opposite side appears civilization, which is a subjective evaluation of the intellectual, moral and aesthetic accomplishments of a society. The two sides of the equation are directly related, so that high energy consumption results in high civilization and low energy consumption in a low level of civilization.

The energy-civilization equation originated in the early nineteenth century. Prior to that time, the introduction of new energy sources was not linked to the advancement of culture. Take the example of the Middle Ages, which witnessed a great power revolution. Although the waterwheel, windmill and effective harnesses for draft animals transformed social and economic life, no medieval thinker was ever moved to claim that they were the ultimate sources of the cultural and spiritual achievements of the time.

The rose window of Chartres, the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, or any other of the accomplishments of the age were never related to the energy that had recently been put to new and practical uses. And conversely, medieval man never feared that dry streams, windless days and bad harnesses would mark the end of his civilization. Yet, by the

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1800s, the energy-civilization equation found easy acceptance, and claims and warnings of this sort were gaining in popularity.

The formulation of the energy-civilization equation was made possible by the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century. The emergence of modern science and the subsequent identification of scientific and technical advancement with human progress provided the kind of intellectual environment in which a newly introduced power source would be dealt with differently than it had been in the Middle Ages. The Scientific Revolution created a world view in which energy and civilization could be directly related.

In the 17th century, Sir Francis Bacon listed the great inventions that had changed the course of civilization; they were the compass, gunpowder and the printing press. With the rapid growth of science and technology, it was an easy matter to extend Bacon's original list by adding new inventions. By the late 18th century, an obvious addition to that list was the steam engine, which produced large amounts of power and had noticeable social and economic effects. It quickly became the symbol of industrialization and the social, economic and cultural changes that accompanied it.

The steam engine appeared to offer strong evidence that energy could be converted into civilization. However, neither the steam engine nor any other mechanical device could provide a proper theoretical basis for the energy-civilization equation. Only the sciences could supply such a foundation, and they did so during the 19th century. First physics and chemistry and then the biological, social and behavioral

"THE VAST INCREASES IN ENERGY CONSUMPTION OVER THE PAST FEW DECADES HAVE NOT NECESSARILY ENHANCED OUR CHANCES OF REACHING A NEW STAGE IN CIVILIZATION."

sciences were called upon to offer theoretical justification for linking energy with civilization.

Among the great successes of nineteenth-century physics were the discovery of the laws of conservation of energy and the establishment of a science of thermodynamics. Early in the century scientists had their first glimpse into the possibility of energy conversion. At that time they were interested in the conversion of heat to light, light to chemical action, chemical action to motion, motion to electricity, electricity to magnetism and so forth.

Some men of science were not satisfied to confine the conversion series to the boundaries of the physics and chemistry laboratory. Is it not possible, they argued, to convert physical forces or energies into biological ones? After all, it occurs naturally every time an animal assimilates its food. And cannot the series be extended from the biological to the nervous forces that energize the nervous system? And why stop here? Can we not take the next step, the one that connects nervous forces to the mind and to the study of moral and intellectual energy?

If one answered "yes" to these questions, then there existed no theoretical barrier between the physical concept of energy and the moral and intellectual progress that characterized civilization. It was in this way that the energy-civilization equation finally found an apparently respectable place for itself among the sciences.

Once the path had been opened between physical energy and culture, it was possible to imagine energy conversion sequences that began in the firebox of a steam engine, or in the windings of an electric dynamo, and ended in the world of morality, social and intellectual concern and artistic creation. Most scientists preferred to work on the first few links of the sequence, links that were clearly empirical. On the other hand, there were those who saw no problem in speaking of vital mental and social energies and in determining their relationship to the energy of the physical sciences. Some cases in point:

*Wilhelm Ostwald, German chemist, 1919 Novel prize-winner and creator of Ostwald's energetic imperative: Do not waste energy! He attempted to develop an energetic basis for all the sciences.

*Henry Adams, American historian and author of the famous essay, "The Virgin and the Dynamo," which evaluated the effects of two great and different energies upon the course of Western civilization, concluding that the force of electricity was every bit as mysterious and powerful as the religious force produced by medieval Catholicism's veneration of the Virgin Mary.

*Frederick A. Soddy, British scientist, 1921 Nobel prize-winner and a pioneer in the study of the atom. Soddy believed atomic energy would lift civilization to heights undreamed of, if atomic warfare could be averted and a new economic system established for a more equitable distribution of goods and services.

*Henry Ford and Thomas A. Edison, who followed Soddy's lead in dealing with energy and economics. Ford proposed using an abandoned Muscle Shoals, Alabama, hydroelectric plant to produce enough cheap power to supply a city 75 miles long and 15 miles wide. Edison proposed financing the scheme through Energy Dollars, imprinted with a depiction of the hydroelectric plant because energy was the true basis of money. Politics intervened to kill the grandiose scheme.

And the energeticists marched on. The dreams of hydroelectric plants and a new society persisted to the time of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's administration, when they became part of the Tennessee Valley Authority program. The TVA mystique was to reappear in such unlikely and remote areas of the world as Aswan, Egypt, and the Mekong River delta in Vietnam.

It would be foolish to argue that hydroelectrical establishments have no influence on their social and intellectual milieu. However, it is also true that they have not created the revolutionary changes promised by their promoters. We have yet to create a new civilization merely because we harnessed the power of some wild river. There remains a considerable gap between the Utopian societies projected and the economic and ecological liabilities of power dam construction.

I have touched upon but a few of the many manifestations of the energy-civilization formulation. Sigmund Freud linked sexual energy, and its sublimation, to civilization. Some current anthropological and sociological thought links energy and cultural achievements. There is astronomical speculation that ranks the civilizations of yet to be discovered extraterrestrial beings according to their supposed access to different amounts of energy. The disclosure of new energy sources—coal, petroleum, the atom, the sun—is accompanied by highly exaggerated claims that they would be the basis for a new society and a higher civilization. Finally, a National Science Foundation course describes energy as follows: "Energy is the source and control of all things, all values and all the actions of human beings and nature." That is the sort of description that at one time would have sufficed to define God!

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Having resolved the historical question of the origins and diffusion of the energy-civilization equation, we are still left wondering about its ultimate validity.

In this equation, slight increases or decreases in energy use cause large fluctuations in the level of civilization. If man uses less coal or electricity, then he is surely doomed to wear animal furs, gnaw on bones and pass his time shaping stone tools. On the other hand, if he only adopts solar, fusion or some other new energy source, then the gates of the Garden of Eden will be opened to him. We should be suspicious of a formulation that places mankind so precariously between apocalypse and utopia. And we should be cautious in accepting an equation that does not reflect the fact that the vast increases in energy consumption over the past few decades have not necessarily enhanced our changes of reaching a new stage in civilization.

Perhaps one reason why our rapidly increasing energy consumption has not placed us upon a new plateau of civilization is the way in which we choose to use that excess energy. The crude formula linking civilization with energy has no place for questions of choice. It deals with

"THERE IS A GREAT DANGER IN ASSUMING THAT CULTURAL ATTAINMENTS MUST WAIT UPON THE FULFILLMENT OF CREATURE COMFORTS."

energy expended per capita and does not ask if the energy was squandered on trivialities, wasted in destructive wars, or utilized to advance the social, moral and cultural accomplishments we identify with civilization.

Another weakness of the equation grows out of the vague way energy is defined within its context. There is no quarrel when the term is limited to the physical domain. But what are we to make of the analogical reasoning that led to the writing of serious essays on moral energy, sexual energy or religious energy?

If the energy-civilization formulation encouraged the loose definition of energy, what did it do for the definition of civilization? Immediately we are faced with an entirely different situation. Energy has its roots in the physical sciences, so that no matter how it is misapplied the original concept maintains its integrity. Civilization, on the contrary, never has had the kind of precise determination we associate with an accepted scientific concept. Civilization has always been a value-laden word that has changed over time and has been redefined again and again in order to meet current political, social or cultural needs or desires. It is an ill-fated formula that would attempt to link closely two such disparate entities as energy and civilization.

Yet, even if we attempt to make the equation workable by focusing upon one nation at a given time and assuming that its people will agree on what is meant by civilization, we find grave difficulties. When the English economist and philosopher Stanley Jevons was predicting the imminent decline of British civilization in the 1860s, he supposed that coal, iron and railroads had raised England to the pinnacle of culture. Not so, responded the contemporary literary critic Matthew Arnold. Let us suppose, said Arnold, that two hundred years from now England was to be swallowed up by the sea. Then, when the rest of the world recalled England's greatness, they would undoubtedly remember the Age of Shakespeare as her golden hour and not the time of Alfred Lord Tennyson and Queen Victoria. The Elizabethans managed quite well without the steam engine to produce a culture that is admired throughout the world.

Should a twentiety-century opponent choose to enter into the debate with Matthew Arnold over this matter, he would probably draw upon statistics proving modern superiority in life expectancy, literacy, nutrition, public hygiene, speed of transportation, equality of opportunity and so on. In short, he would shift the argument to the arenas of quality of life and economic growth. Matthew Arnold would reply to his modern critic as he did to Jevons, by defining national greatness as that quality that excites love, interest and admiration for a nation and its deeds. And Arnold would be correct in doing so, because throughout its history the energy-civilization equation has stressed the highest cultural achievements of man, and not the more mundane aspects of his life. After all, the steam engine was praised not merely because it could pump drinking water to city dwellers but because it was a dispenser of culture.

A persistent critic would then respond that there just might be a connection between the availability of potable water and the creation of high culture. Must not the artist and scientist be fed, clothed and sheltered before he can address himself to artistic and scientific affairs? There is no simple reply to this question. However, I believe it calls for something far more profound than the energy-civilization equation, which has often been put forth as the definitive answer.

There is a great danger in assuming that cultural attainments must wait upon the fulfillment of creature comforts,

"THE ELIZABETHANS MANAGED QUITE WELL WITHOUT THE STEAM ENGINE TO PRODUCE A CULTURE THAT IS ADMIRED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD."

that man could not study the stars, think about gods or ornament a piece of pottery until he had a full stomach, a roof over his head and a wall around his city. The more historians and anthropologists learn about the early history of mankind, the more they are convinced that science, religion, and art were always part of his existence, and not refinements he cultivated after reaching a certain stage of economic stability. Neither historical nor anthropological research supports the popular view that economic necessity is prior to, and prepares the way for, the moral, intellectual and aesthetic life of man. Therefore I, for one, would reject the simple correlation of energy consumption, economic growth and civilization.

In the final analysis, it is not crucial that all of my criticisms of the energy-civilization equation be accepted. It is much more important that the equation is recognized as a pervasive, if often implicit, element in both popular and sophisticated approaches to energy and society. If the equation is as worthless and potentially dangerous as I think it is, then it should be exposed and discarded, because it supplies a supposedly scientific argument against our efforts to adopt a style of living based upon lower levels of energy consumption. If it is a generalization of great truth, then it deserves a more refined handling than it has received from its supporters to date.

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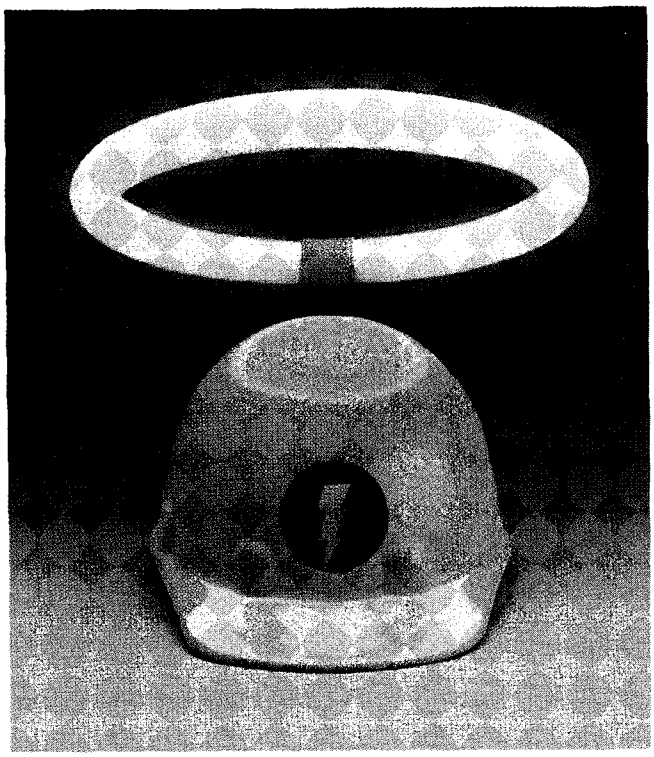
POWER INDUSTRY MORALITY

by Alasdair MacIntyre



We are in one of those phases, recurrent in American history, in which morality has been rediscovered yet once again. It is characteristic of such phases that a hunt for scapegoats ensues, focusing our concerns in precisely the wrong way on precisely the wrong issues. Blaming and punishing individuals becomes a substitute for asking what it was in the structures of our common life that at the very least made possible and perhaps even positively engendered moral fault and failure.

The present fashionable concern with morality in general and the practice of scapegoating in particular concentrate their concern almost exclusively upon breaches of the kind of moral rule that tells us only what we ought not to do. Our very concern with an emphasis upon negative, prohibiting rules leads us to lose sight of what is, in fact, centrally important to morality and thus, in turn, to fail to give due importance to these self-same negative, prohibiting rules.

The record of the electric power industry, in abstaining from breaking such negative, prohibiting rules, is by and large an exemplary one. Paradoxically enough, insofar as I am inclined to question the moral resources of the electric power industry, it is because in one way its moral record is as good as it is. The morality of the industry has been essentially a negative one of proved abstinence from wrong-doing.

Since the end of the Great Depression, the electric power industry has inflexibly interpreted its legally mandated task, at the heart of which is the requirement to supply electric power on demand. The American electric power industry not only supplied power with a success unparalleled in human history, but actually participated in creating the demand that made that success necessary to the rest of American industry. All this was achieved in such a way that neither the more general question: "Growth for what?" nor the more specific question: "Electric power for what?" needed to be raised, let alone answered. Those questions implicitly were held to be questions only for consumers, just as questions of the legal constraints to be imposed on the provision and use of electric power were held to be questions for the Congress and for citizens.

The morality required and practiced by the industry was generally a strict morality of non-intervention in every area but that which it and others regarded as its own legitimate realm. There was one positive aspect to the morality: its basic assumption, so firmly held as scarcely needing to be stated, was that the providing of electric power within the limits set by these negative constraints was an unqualified good.

Environmental concerns did not emerge until the very end of the period about which I am speaking; and the obvious connections between the provision of electric power and the possibilities both of providing employment for an increasing work force and of increasing the comfort of domestic life reinforced this assumption. The consequence was that a whole range of decisions came to be treated as purely or almost purely technical decisions to be handed over to the economists and the engineers: what types of plant should be built, where should they be sited, at what points should investment be made, what skills did the industry need. Congress provided the mandate, the consumer provided the data for prediction, the executives of the industry provided the commercial integrity and the skills for answering such questions, but the questions themselves were technical, not moral.

"THE ENERGY CRISIS IS A CRISIS ABOUT OUR WHOLE WAY OF LIFE AND NOT JUST ABOUT ENERGY."

The electric power industry—and in this it has been no different from the rest of us in modern society—has allowed its moral perspectives to be defined too much in terms of the negative prohibiting and constraining rules and not enough in terms of positive goods that ought to inform its tasks. It is those goods that provide the distinctive moral dimension in any definition of the future tasks of the electric power industry. We can very happily take for granted the need to observe the requirements of the negative rules; what we do need is a more explicit assertion of the industry's positive moral tasks.

One positive moral task of the industry is to assume a large public responsibility in areas that it has hitherto treated with a scrupulous but, if I am right, partly mis-

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placed respect as the responsibility either of the Congress or the executive branch of government or of the industrial, commercial and private consumer. That responsibility is to urge, cajole and compel our society to make certain choices and to make those choices in as open, as explicit and as rational a way as possible. There are two different kinds of reason why this responsibility falls to the electric power industry. The first is concerned with its unrivaled strategic position in the supply of power and with the scale and scope of its resources, especially the industry's accumulation of relevant knowledge and relevant skills. Both government and the general public have to learn what are the applications and consequences of alternative energy sources under specific local conditions of particular communities and environments. Engineering, economic, environmental and social considerations are going to have to be presented within a framework of political choice.

It is perhaps obvious that the members of the electric power industry are, as a group, uniquely well-fitted to present such choices. It would be required of them that they transcend their position as one special interest group among others. Would we then be asking them to become moral supermen? There is no simple, glib answer. But part of the complex answer is that we have asked no less from a variety of special interest groups in times of national crisis, especially during the Second World War.

The second type of reason for suggesting that the industry has this special and relatively new responsibility is that so far those who have been conveniently assigned this task by the democratic process have signally failed to discharge it in any but the most inadequate ways.

We have in our society only two institutionalized methods for coordinating individual preferences and transforming them into public choices: those of the market and its allied institutions, and those of government legislation, taxation and regulation. It is scarcely surprising that public debate has focused, explicitly and implicitly, on energy questions as elsewhere on the choice between those two, and that the form of public debate has been largely that of an indictment of each of these methods by

"THERE ARE GREAT MORAL AS WELL AS PRACTICAL DANGERS IN MAKING TOO MANY LARGE-SCALE IRREVERSIBLE INVESTMENT DECISIONS THAT FORECLOSE ON FUTURE CHOICES."

the proponents of the other. The sad fact of course is that both parties are right; both methods are grossly defective, and specifically so with respect to the kind of choices that our society now needs to formulate.

Consider first some defects of the mechanisms of the market. Markets only provide mechanisms for coordinating individual preferences once those preferences have been formulated and expressed in acts of consumption. The market, therefore, is of no help to us in those areas of life where we have to decide what our patterns of consumption are to be, how our preferences are to be ranked, how our desires are to be ordered. The debate on energy is centrally about investment; and it is a debate that has to be conducted within what Daniel Bell has felicitously called the "public household." We need to reason together in order to discover with what choices we want to enter the market. We are, that is to say, at a point in the argument where to tell us to rely on the mechanisms of the market is not so much mistaken as irrelevant.

There are weaknesses and defects in our system of political decision-making that correspond precisely to the weaknesses and defects of the market. It, like the market, is responsive to the pressures of the present much more rationally than to those of the future, partly because our ability to predict the future accurately is in general extraordinarily limited. And it, like the market, is far more effective at expressing already formulated choices on familiar issues than at formulating new possibilities of choice in unfamiliar areas. Neither the market nor the political system will provide the ordinary citizen with an adequate arena for formulating and expressing radically new choices of the kind that the energy debate thrusts upon us. And if public discussion that will enable ordinary citizens to formulate and express radically new choices does not take place, then the political and economic outcomes will inevitably be sadly defective.

But who is to begin the debate neceseary to supplement our conventional economic and political institutions? Who is to educate the educators? I see very few individuals or institutions who are both capable of taking up this task and who possess the resources and the strategic position to carry it through, apart from those individuals and institutions comprised by the electric power industry. Their work compels them to interact with both producers and consumers at essential points. They have a peculiar responsibility, which arises from the fact that if they do not discharge it, it is unlikely that anyone else will. If the industry does embark on this task, it will perhaps be accused of trying to preempt the democratic process; but if it does not take action that will render it liable to such accusations, the democratic process itself may fail us.

What then is the task, and why does it have moral dimensions? In order to answer this question, I shall have to state briefly and unoriginally what I take the energy crisis to be. There is no more of a shortage of available energy now than at any other time; what has suddenly become unavailable is energy at the kind of low price to us to which we had become accustomed. What we now have to debate is what we are prepared to pay for what and to whom and how are we going to pay for it. The major possibility that we confront is of a gigantic shift in patterns of investment. And if we invest massively in new energy sources or in new ways and to new extents in existing sources, then we shall necessarily be shifting our investment away from something else important to our lives. Hence the energy crisis is a crisis about our whole way of life and not just about energy.

It is not difficult to see that when we rethink the wide range of questions facing America as questions about energy, four different kinds of moral concern must arise. The first is a concern for complexity. Oversimplification, the sacrifice of complexity, is in fact a crucial form of the vice of untruthfulness. Yet this is not the only morally damaging harm that is likely to arise from oversimplification of the issues. Just because so many different kinds of issues of policy and practice interlock at the point of energy use, there is no simple way to assess the costs and benefits that will arise from any particular proposal. How, for example, are we to weigh as considerations relevant to the same proposal the harm of damage to the environment against the harm of making fewer jobs available to those who badly need work, and both against the harm of injury and death to a certain number of presently unidentifiable individuals? It is always much easier for us to consider these issues in a piecemeal, local way, in which some particular compromise—determined through bargaining by

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local circumstances and balance of power—will, in the short run, at least, satisfy the particular, local contending parties. Our whole political and legislative process is biased towards oversimplified statements of problems and, consequently, not only oversimplified but unjust solutions.

Because our culture possesses no general set of standards that will enable us to evaluate costs and benefits of very different types in a single rational argument, it is all the more important that our evaluations satisfy two minimal requirements of justice. The first is that everyone relevantly involved—and where energy is concerned that means everyone—should have a chance to say what is to count as a cost and what as a benefit. The second is that, so far as possible, those who receive the benefits should also be those who pay the costs and vice versa. Neither the former nor the latter principle has received anything like adequate attention in recent debates. When environmentalists urge policies that will significantly reduce the

"ENVIRONMENTALISTS IN THE PRESENT HAVE SOMETIMES BEEN AS UNTRAMMELED IN ENDANGERING OTHER PEOPLE'S JOBS AS INDUSTRIALISTS IN THE PAST WERE IN ENDANGERING OTHER PEOPLE'S INVESTMENTS"

number of jobs that might otherwise be available, it is rarely, perhaps never, the case that they are able to show *either* that those who would lose their opportunities of work are the same people who would benefit from the environment *or* that those who would lose their opportunities to work have had a part in shaping the conception and criteria of costs and benefits involved. Environmentalists in the present have sometimes been as untrammeled in endangering other people's jobs as industrialists in the past were in endangering other people's investments. Equally, when opponents of nuclear power stations urge policies that will significantly increase our future dependence on coal, the lives that will be lost as a result of their policies are not their own. Justice demands not only that everyone have a voice and a vote, but that some people—the populations that will bear the relevant risks and dangers, or most of them—have more of a voice and more of a vote than others.

There is at least one further requirement that must be met if justice is to be served. Because the energy crisis is primarily a crisis about the investment of resources, ordinary citizens are going to have no opportunity to understand how the costs and benefits of different investment policies do and will impinge upon them, if the costs are systematically concealed by subsidy. For the inhabitants of most advanced countries, the cheapness of energy to the consumer in the past 50 years has disguised its true costs. Ordinary citizens respond to their everyday experience and, if their everyday experience conceals what they are really paying for energy in all sorts of disguised ways, then no amount of theoretical education is likely to succeed. Only if there is a widespread perception of what the costs and benefits of different energy policies are can we decide both democratically and rationally how it is just to distribute costs and benefits.

Justice and truthfulness are not the only virtues central to determining energy production and use. Another is the ability to live with unpredictability.

We need to plan on a large scale, but we also have to recognize that our plans are for a future that is always apt to surprise us with its unexpectedness. In part, our social future is unpredictable because of the ways in which the future development of mathematics, science and technology are unpredictable. An obvious and obviously crucial example is the mathematics of Turing or of von Neumann, work essential to the development of modern computing science and engineering, and work whose outcome could not have been rationally predicted in advance.

In changing the social world and its national environment, we also change ourselves. No matter how sophisticated our social planning with respect to energy or to anything else, we can never rule out the possibility that in the course of implementing our plans we shall acquire views, interests and desires markedly different from those that led us to draw up and implement our original plans. Hence it is crucial that our planning is not so inflexible that it leaves our future selves—let alone successor generations—with no or few options acceptable to them because we were, at an early stage, too rigidly insistent on what is now acceptable to us.

It follows that there are great moral as well as practical dangers in making too many large-scale irreversible investment decisions that foreclose on future choices. This is especially a danger because the urgency of our immediate needs always tempts us towards short-term solutions.

Some of my statements about justice might seem supportive to the advocates of massive investment in nuclear power, while what I am now saying about the need for an ability to live with unpredictability may seem to endorse what some of their critics have said. But what matters at this juncture is not so much the particular policy implications of particular points; rather, it is the need to underline the fact that we ought not to expect moral considerations all to point in one single policy direction. There is a genuinely tragic dimension to the energy debate in that any particular policy direction is going to involve the sacrifice of some authentic goods for the sake of others. Our culture lacks any clear sense of how to handle tragic situations, situations that reveal our moral and human limitations in relation to the tasks imposed upon us.

Because we have never learned to face up to our moral limitations, we have lost to a large degree our vision of positive possibility. We have trudged for so long into a future of apparently limitless consumption that we do not now find it easy to remember who we are and what links us to others. The notion of possibility is always the notion of some future form of community that provides us now with standards and goals by which to diagnose our various forms of inadequacy and to set about remedying them. Just such a common vision—partial, not always coherent, but providing the essential sustenance for our constitution—was implicit in the founding of this republic.

What I am suggesting is this: that to press forward in the public arena the debate about energy, in such a way as to make its moral dimensions clear so far as possible to the whole society, will reveal to that society that it is, to a degree that a good deal of political rhetoric conceals from us, involved in a moral crisis as well as in an energy crisis. The prospect is a dismaying one and requires courage: we do not know how to reason together morally in an effective way. And this lack—just because it is something wanting in the social order as a whole—will never be remedied unless we face it as a society.

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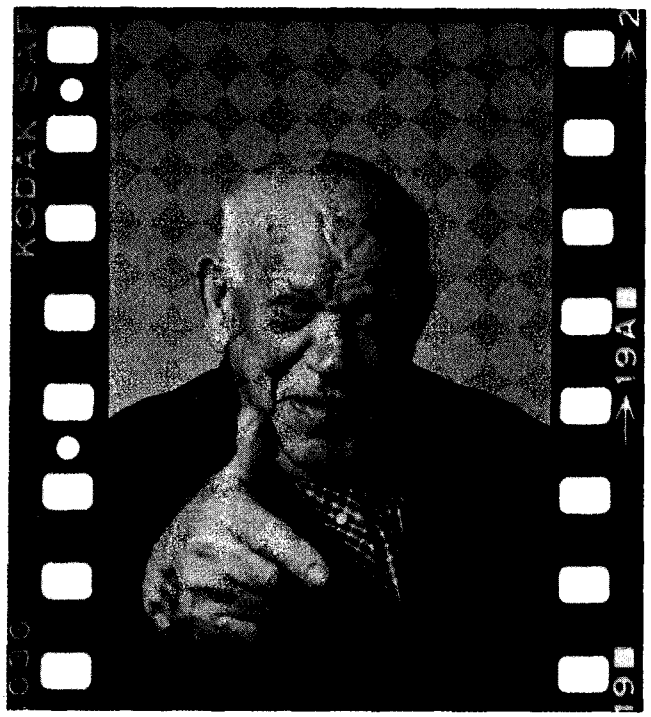
BEWARE THE INTELLECTUAL

by Eric Hoffer



From the early days of the Industrial Revolution, intellectuals of every sort predicted that the machine would make man superfluous. Right now, it would be difficult to find a social scientist who does not believe that automated machines and computers are eliminating man as a factor in the social equation.

The belief that the machine turns men into robots is an a priori assumption that prevents social scientists from seeing that technology is doing precisely the opposite of what they predicted it would do. There is evidence on every hand that the human factor has never been so central as it is now in technologically advanced countries. And it is the centrality of the human factor that makes industrial societies at present so unpredictable.

In the 19th century, which saw a Promethean effort to master and harness nature, little thought was given to the management of man. The ruling middle class could proceed on the principle that government is best when it governs least. Everyday life had a fabulous regularity. Obedience of authority was as automatic as a reflex movement. Social processes were almost as rational and predictable as the processes of nature. It was reasonable to believe in the possibility of a social science as exact as a natural science.

There was also boundless hope, a belief in automatic progress that imbued people with patience.

Mr. Hoffer, the self-educated author of numerous books on social philosophy, is a former migratory worker, gold miner and longshoreman.

Then came the 20th century! Have there ever been two successive centuries so different from each other as the 19th and the 20th?

The 19th century was stable, predictable, rational, hopeful, free, fairly peaceful and lumpy with certitudes.

The 20th century has been hectic, soaked with the blood of innocents, fearful of the future, stripped of certitudes, unpredictable and absurd. The history of the 20th century is a succession of disastrous absurdities: the First World War, the Russian Revolution, the Versailles Peace Treaty, Prohibition, the wild '20s, the Great Depression, the Roosevelt Administration, the Hitler Revolution, the Second World War, the Holocaust, the absurd 1960s and now the Carter Presidency.

What was it that made the 20th century so different from the 19th? The First World War was the sharp dividing line between the two centuries. But it was not the First World War itself, but its aftermath, that shaped our century. Without the breakdown of Czarist Russia and the humiliation of Germany by the Versailles Treaty, there would have been neither a Lenin nor a Hitler Revolution.

We have the testimony of highly reliable observers on the fabulous stability and hopefulness of the pre-war decade. To Alfred North Whitehead, who was immersed in the new physics, "the period 1880 to 1914 was one of the happiest times in the history of mankind."

It is impressive how logic and hope kept 19th century thinkers from contemplating an unpleasant, let alone apocalyptic, denouement as the fulfillment of the Industrial Revolution. Few in the 19th century were aware of the explosive irrationality of the human condition. No one suspected that once nature had been mastered, industrial societies would enter a psychological age in which man would become a threat to mankind's survival.

No one foresaw the disintegration of values and the weakening of social discipline caused by the elimination of scarcity. A logician like Marx could not foresee the downfall of capitalism by ever-increasing efficiency rather than by ever-increasing misery. Hardly anyone in the 19th century foresaw the chronic unemployment and the loss of a sense of usefulness caused by increased ambition. No one feared that drastic change would upset traditions, customs and other arrangements that make life predictable. Finally, no one foresaw that the education explosion made possible by advanced technology would swamp societies with hordes of educated nobodies who want to be somebodies and end up being mischief-making busybodies.

Strangely, those whom thinkers of the 19th century viewed with alarm were the masses. Some thought that the masses loathed continuity and that their clamor for change would topple all that was noble and precious. Others believed that, once the masses were given political power, only education and prosperity could preserve social stability. How naive to believe in a stabilizing power of prosperity and education after we have seen what affluence and education have done!

To Freud, it seemed that individuals composing the

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masses support one another in giving free reign to their indiscipline. No one had an inkling that anarchy, when it came, would originate not in the masses but in violent minorities, including the minority of the educated. Everything that was said about the anarchic propensities of the masses fits perfectly with the behavior of students, professors, writers, artists and the hangers-on during the righteous '60s.

The masses are the protagonists of stability, continuity and law and order. It is curious that Disraeli—remarkable man—should have had a truer world view of the nature of the masses than his liberal contemporaries. He sensed the conservatism and patriotism of common people. Could it be that, as a genuine conservative, Disraeli was more attuned to the eternal verities of man's existence? Considering also how timely and relevant were Disraeli's ideas about what makes nations strong and great, it is legitimate to wonder whether you have to be a conservative if you want to be up to date.

"THE INTELLECTUAL IS IN HIS ELEMENT COMMANDING, COERCING, BRAINWASHING AND IN GENERAL MAKING PEOPLE LOVE WHAT THEY HATE."

The 20th century saw not only the fulfillment of the Industrial Revolution but also the fulfillment of wars planted in the preceding century. There is hardly an atrocity perpetrated in the 20th century that had not been advocated by some intellectual in the 19th.

The 19th century was dominated by men of action; the intellectuals just talked. And no one expected savage words to have consequence. The intellectuals entered the 19th century convinced that it was going to be their century. Had they not made the French Revolution? They saw themselves as the coming ruling class. But the Industrial Revolution gave power to the middle class, and the intellectuals were left out in the cold.

It is the predicament of the middle class that, although it excels in mastering things, it is awkward and almost helpless when it comes to managing men. Thus, when the human factor became more and more central, the middle class, drained of confidence by the First World War and a great Depression, found itself in deep trouble.

The stage was set for the entrance of the intellectuals. To an intellectual, power means power over man. He cannot conceive of power moving mountains and telling rivers where to flow. He is in his element commanding, brainwashing and in general making people love what they hate. He glories in the role of medicine man and charismatic leader. And feels godlike when he makes words become flesh. Thus, he has made the 20th century a century of words par excellence. In no other century have words become so dangerous. A failure to recognize this fact can have disastrous consequences.

Now, viewed from any vantage point, the 19th century was a sharp historical deviation. About 150 years ago, the Occident was catapulted into a trajectory away from the ancient highway of history. We can now see that the trajectory is the loop that turns upon itself and is curving back to where it started. We can see all around us the lineaments of a pre-industrial pattern emerging in post-industrial society. We are not plunging ahead into the future, but falling back into the past. The explosion of the young, the dominance of the intellectuals, the savagery of our cities, the revulsion from work are all characteristics of the decades that preceded the Industrial Revolution. We are returning to the rocky highway of history and are rejoining the ancient caravan.

The significant point is that the people who are rejoining the ancient caravan are not what they were in pre-industrial days. They are more dangerous. The unspeakable atrocities of the 20th century have demonstrated that man is the originator of a great evil that threatens the survival of mankind. The central problem of the post-industrial age is how to cope with this human evil.

It is conceivable that if the exhaustion of raw materials and sources of energy make it imperative for a society to tap the creative energies of its people, it may in doing so also tap a new source of social discipline, for the creative individual, no matter how highly endowed, must be hard-working and disciplined if he's to accomplish much.

There is no invention that will take the hard work out of creating. Moreover, since the creative flow is never abundant, the greatest society is likely to be disciplined by a new chronic scarcity. The trouble is that the coming of the creative society will be slow and faltering, and we must find other defenses against evil.

What I'm going to advocate may seem far-fetched. But in this case, all suggestions are legitimate. As things are now, it may well be that the survival of the species will depend upon the capacity to foster a boundless capacity for compassion. In the alchemy of man's soul, almost all noble attributes—courage, love, hope, faith, beauty, loyalty—can be transmuted into ruthlessness. Compassion alone stands apart from the continuous traffic between good and evil proceeding within us. Compassion is the antitoxin of the soul. Where there is compassion, even the poisonous impulses remain relatively harmless.

Compassion seems to have its roots in the family. It is conceivable that the present weakening of the family may allow compassion to leak out into wider circles. So, too, the cultivation of esprit de corps, which is the creation of family ties between strangers, may spread compassion.

The question is: can we make people compassionate by education? It is natural to assume that the well-educated are more humane and compassionate than the uneducated. But, believe it or not, the reverse seems to be true. When Gandhi was asked what it was that worried him most, he replied, "The hardness of heart of the educated."

We have seen the highly educated German nation give its allegiance to the most murderously vengeful government in history. The bloody-minded professors in the Kremlin, as Churchill called them, liquidated 60 million Russian men, women and children. We have also seen a band of graduates of the Sorbonne, no less, slaughter and starve millions of innocents in Cambodia and Vietnam. The murder weapons that may destroy our society are being forged in the work factories of our foremost universities. In many countries, universities have become the chief recruiting ground of mindless terrorists.

I've never been a teacher or a parent, and my heart is savage by nature and therefore unfit to tell people how to implant compassion. Still, I have the feeling that perhaps the adoption of a certain view of life might bear the fruit of compassion. We feel close to each other when we see our planet as a tiny island of life in an immensity of nothingness. We also draw together when we become aware that night must close in on all living things, that we are condemned to death at birth and that life is a bus ride to the place of execution. All of our struggling and vying is about seats in the bus, and the ride is over before we know it.

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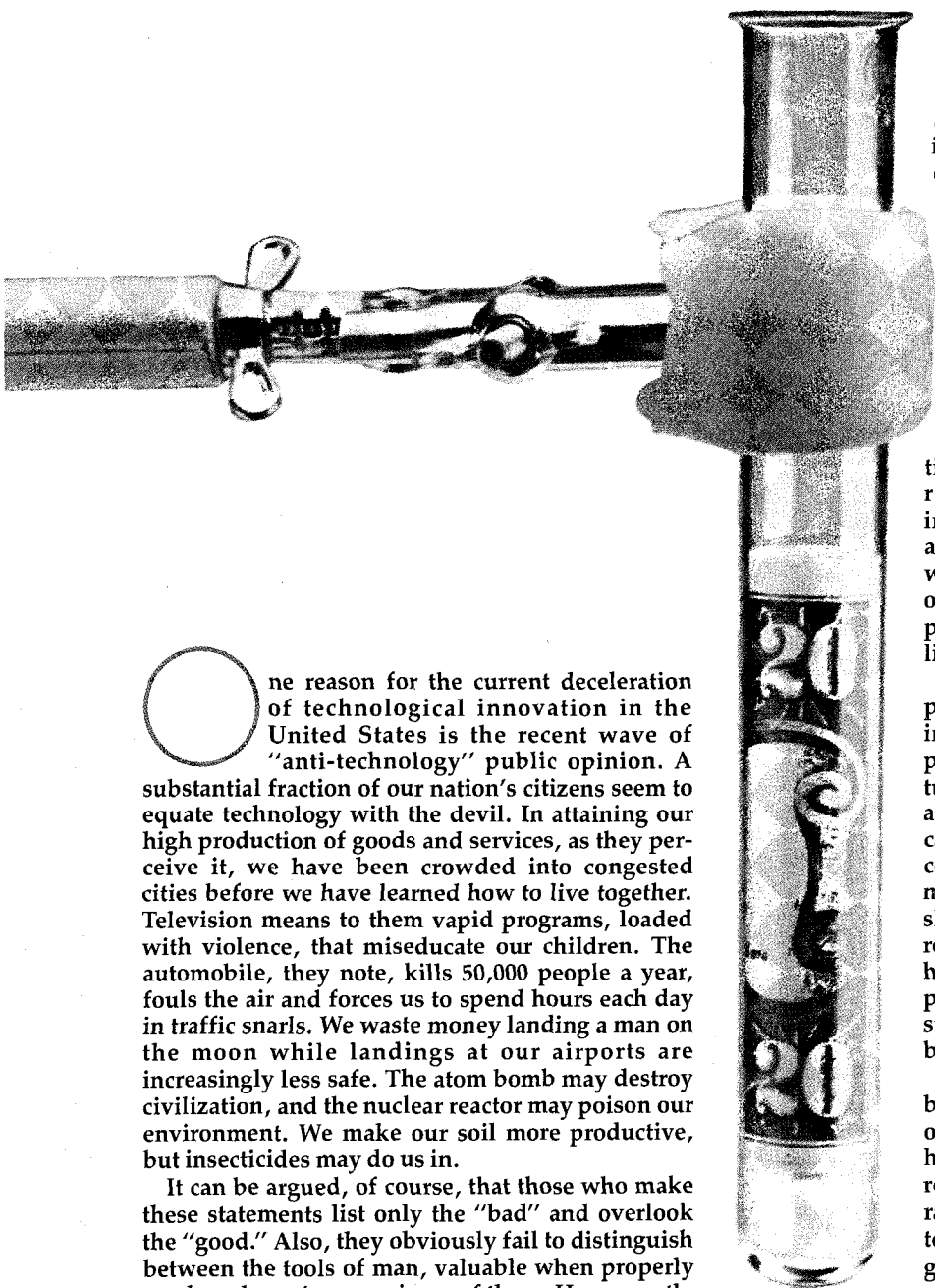
CAN SCIENCE TURN A PROFIT?

by Simon Ramo



One reason for the current deceleration of technological innovation in the United States is the recent wave of "anti-technology" public opinion. A substantial fraction of our nation's citizens seem to equate technology with the devil. In attaining our high production of goods and services, as they perceive it, we have been crowded into congested cities before we have learned how to live together. Television means to them vapid programs, loaded with violence, that miseducate our children. The automobile, they note, kills 50,000 people a year, fouls the air and forces us to spend hours each day in traffic snarls. We waste money landing a man on the moon while landings at our airports are increasingly less safe. The atom bomb may destroy civilization, and the nuclear reactor may poison our environment. We make our soil more productive, but insecticides may do us in.

It can be argued, of course, that those who make these statements list only the "bad" and overlook the "good." Also, they obviously fail to distinguish between the tools of man, valuable when properly used, and man's own misuse of them. However, the presence in the nation of a broad anti-technology bias, applied indiscriminately, impairs our overall ability to reach objective, sound, non-emotional decisions on the development and employment of technology. This prejudice, like all prejudices, stands in the way of our arriving at meaningful value judgments.

The majority of the public in the United States does not seem to understand the fundamental necessity for a strong program of advancing technology to meet the public's own insistent requirements to have a growing standard of living, low unemployment and tolerable (that is, small) inflation rates.

We have two routes for initiatives to get things done in the U.S.: free enterprise and government. Without a high degree of cooperation between the government and the private sector, and public understanding of the need for this cooperation, technological advance in the U.S. will be highly constrained. Because the government is so important in setting the environment for technological innovation and because innovative capability in the U.S. resides almost entirely in private industry, improved organization to accomplish beneficial advancing of technology depends on the extent to which a harmonious ensemble can be organized out of the three ingredients: government policy, private investment and implementation, and public support.

Currently, inflation, government spending, tax policies, and over-regulation have impaired industry earnings and lowered available funds for plowback to create technological advances. Unfortunately, an increasing fraction of the most needed and potentially beneficial technological projects call for investments beyond the net worth of most corporations, and large corporations in the U.S. now are essentially not allowed to team up to share the risk. For such projects, the "risk-to-return" ratio is too great, the start-up losses are too high, the time to "turn-around" to an eventual profit phase is too long and the dependence of success on unpredictable political decisions is forbiddingly close.

The lack of industry incentive to invest funds to back innovation goes with the other characteristics of the U.S. environment: inflation, high taxes, high costs in dealing with government regulatory requirements, high consumption-to-investment ratios, and high ratio of government to private sector spending. Given the state of the economy, no government program to stimulate more innovative effort and R&D in private industry could be nearly so effective as a successful government program to lower inflation, or one to cause more discretionary cash flow to be available to technological corporations by a lowering of taxes. If the government could create these changes, the seeds of scientific and technological advance would quickly blossom into copious crops. Here are some examples that illustrate the relation of the rate of application of technological advance to economic-political constraints.

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OIL WELL TECHNOLOGY

If existing U.S. continental oil wells were equipped with submergible pumps for secondary and tertiary recovery wherever warranted, our oil reserves would be greatly increased (perhaps even doubled, the experts tell us). Technologically, such installations are thoroughly practical. Most often, the installations would be economically feasible as well, if the price per barrel were higher than present controls permit for old oil, i.e., in the range of prices the nation is paying now for imported oil. Billions of dollars invested this way would bring us tens of billions in equivalent additional petroleum. The critical pricing parameter to make the private investment a sound one lies outside the free market and is a political matter. Pricing involves a contest among numerous influential constituents with wide differences of opinion of the issue. The private sector thus cannot justify investing the required funds.

IMPROVED URBAN TRANSPORTATION

Almost every large U.S. city could gain by installing a first class public transportation system. But it has to be the right system. The technology has to be carefully selected and matched to each city's layout, industry pattern population and employment distribution, health care and education facilities. The economic gains could be prodigious. Perhaps half our population could save hours each week over present means for getting to and from work. They would travel at less expense, consume less energy, cut air pollution and decrease the accident rate.

But is it intelligent for an American technological corporation to invest its resources with the objective of developing, then selling, and finally earning a return from mass transit systems for American cities? Consider Los Angeles as an example. Imagine that some private company a few years ago decided to devote several years of effort in fitting technology to L.A.'s social and economic needs and designing the multi-billion dollar transit system required. Then, further assume, as we must to be realistic, that all the subsystems (vehicles, controls, communications, energy distribution, safety, terminals, maintenance, rights of way, environmental reports, etc.) were out and debugged.

All this would have involved an expenditure of a hundred million dollars or more and would be only a beginning. Much of this effort would have had to be repeated for other cities because of the importance of bringing prices down by realizing as much commonality as possible in equipment and software for multiple installations. Then the private concern would have to design, build and tool up several plants to start producing the specifically required hardware, refine it by full-scale testing and manufacture parts in some quantity to be sure of price and quality before taking on contracts for shipment and installation. If the company had gone this far (it would by now have made over a billion-dollar investment) and had done everything perfectly would it then have succeeded in selling a system to Los Angeles? That is extremely doubtful. Who exactly is this customer we have labeled Los Angeles? What does Los Angeles truly want and how are its requirements being decided? Can Los Angeles raise the procurement funds? Hundreds of separate (and often quarrelling, apathetic or self-seeking) groups, both private and governmental, are involved in the answers to these questions.

Potentially beneficial as the proper application of transportation technology might be, the market in any given city is not formed. The "risk-to-return" ratio would be absurdly high for the private corporation electing to develop this field. The start-up cost would be huge. Even assuming eventual success, the time to payoff would be too long and the city or county government's eventual approach to the pricing of the service, fundamental to the promise of return on the private investment, would be too unpredictable.

ENVIRONMENTAL TECHNOLOGY

Done suitably, with a mixture of creativity and common sense, the selective depolluting of major lakes, rivers, harbors and coastal waters stands to yield a good return on the investment in health, quality of life and economic gain through preservation and maintenance of vital natural resources. To achieve practical results, much more scientific research and technological work is needed to understand pollution phenomena more deeply, develop superior non-polluting approaches to use of the waters, and produce a myriad of specialized equipment. Of course, such technical effort would be meaningless or misguided without attention to all the complex interface problems.

What company, or group of companies, would invest in a private overall systems solution for, say, depolluting Lake Erie? This would mean their setting out, with their own funds, to settle the many interactions and to develop the new chemical processes, superior purification and fuel-burning methods, optimum energy-use techniques and the rest. Many specific and dificult scientific and engineering advances would be vital for an intelligent, broad changeover to an integrated lower pollution system. But in what context should the individual technological efforts be chosen? What criteria should be used? Even if a combine could be created of, say, five large corporations that among them possessed all the technical expertise required, how could they presume to design and install a system that would affect the economy and social makeup of the industrialized communities of millions of citizens distributed around the lake?

COAL

By all-out use of science and technology and the full cooperation of government and private industry (neither of which is in the cards today), we could have a plentiful supply of energy for hundreds of years by properly utilizing our huge reserves of coal. Existing technological beginnings can be advanced to desulphurize coal, produce liquid and gaseous fuel from it, mine it more safely, obtain a good deal of it without mining (in situ), burn it more cleanly and more fully and limit environmental harm. The resulting energy supply would be higher priced than today's oil, in part to write off the cost of the technological advancen but the funds to pay for the fuel would stay in the U.S.

Success requires both the know-how of private industry and enormous capital placed at risk. A corporation choosing to make a major entry into synthetic gas or liquid fuel from coal by new technology would have to commit funds in the range of billions of dollars, and decades might pass

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before a return on that investment could be realized. Indeed, such return might never come, so great are the risks associated with unpredictable government decisions on critical aspects. The complete "system" involves a host of private and public organizations that are semi-autonomous and not readily directed by any one body: landowners, mine operators, labor unions, railroads, power generating and water supply utilities, numerous engineering and manufacturing organizations, county and state governments and many, many agencies in the federal government that deal with prices, environment, labor and transport, to name only a portion. It is not difficult to appreciate why we are not moving very rapidly in developing and applying new coal technology.

Few doubt that energy will be more costly in the era ahead. But with a plentiful supply at the higher price level—in contrast to a subsidized, low-priced and low-quantity supply—the United States could prosper, some students of the problem would tell us. If we could bring ourselves to design a national program around the realistic expectancy of a gradually higher price (say, up to twice today's price), we might well discover that private investment would become available and private know-how would be applied to ensure adequate supplies. This would be, of course, because the return on investment would justify the investment. Such a program would require viewpoints by the government and the public differing from the present ones built around the politically popular, but unrealistic and inconsistent, policy that preaches conservation while subsidizing low-priced energy.

FUSION ENERGY

Controlled thermonuclear fusion has the possibility of providing us with cheap and plentiful energy. Many millions of dollars have already been spent trying to understand the underlying physics. It is estimated by most experts that decades will be required before all of the remaining physical scientific and engineering details are worked out sufficiently for this approach to energy supply to be ready for application. It may turn out that it never will prove feasible. The total costs in the start-up phase are in the billions of dollars, maybe in the tens of billions. When we have to speak of funding at such levels, time durations of decades, and major doubts as to basic technological feasibility, we are beyond the boundaries of areas suitable for speculative investment by private entities.

FUTURES

Now what does all this add up to? The high potential for science and technology to benefit the society more and at the same time the difficulty in obtaining the benefits; the inability of free enterprise to encompass more than a fraction of the sponsorship; the limitation on the capability of the government to take over where the private sector cannot provide the desirable advances. What views and policies should we promote as steps to improve the situation?

Let me offer some specific recommendations to the four concerned entities: the free enterprise sector, the government, the universities and the public.

Those interested in preserving the free enterprise system (such as leaders of big business and others who see the free market and the private enterprise concept as valuable routes toward utilization of advanced technology) should accept that ours is a hybrid society. It is not helpful and oftentimes harmful to press so hard, as these supporters of the private sector often do, for free enterprise to be labeled as the all-encompassing answer to all problems. Free enterprise should be understood as able only to provide a part of our needs. A creative, cooperative relationship between the private sector and the government should be sought, and the often present adversary relationship should be eliminated.

Government leaders should recognize the government's involvement in scientific and technological matters to be permanent and set a long-range policy for that involvement. It should answer such questions as: Which research and development areas must the government sponsor, and which are best left to free enterprise? How can the required regulatory duties of the government and the setting of the rules for free enterprise be handled so as to enhance and not impair national innovative effort?

The government should appreciate the broad impact of science and technology on virtually every important government decision-making area, and count a healthy scientific and technological effort in the country as vital to the overall national economy. The government should itself be innovative in creating a national environment for innovation. It should direct its sponsorship in scientific and technological matters toward the generation of information to remove risks and thus to enhance the contribution that can be made by free enterprise.

The government should resist the creating of new government research and development efforts and expenditures to enhance innovation in private industry. Instead, the government should act on the premise that improved use of science and technology will quickly follow an improvement in the economy, this improvement characterized by less inflation, taxes and government spending, with discretionary funds for investment in innovation more available to the private sector.

The universities should teach elementary economics to every graduate, so that at least these members of the citizenry would understand such concepts as cost of capital, return on investment, consumption-investment tradeoffs, causes of inflation and the fundamentals of the free enterprise system. The universities also should mount increased efforts to discover and develop innovative talent.

Furthermore, the research programs in the universities should be enhanced to include greater emphasis on the relationships between advancing science and technology and the social-political-economic structure of the nation. The universities should aspire to be a source of innovative ideas about innovation, including the articulating of alternatives for restructuring the nation's institutions so as to enhance the possibilities of our employing the tools of science and technology to the greatest advantage on behalf of the society.

The public would do well to foster neither of the two extreme views: free enterprise alone can do everything best; free enterprise is bad and the government must do everything. If the public is interested in the flexibility, freedom of opportunity, motivation and incentives of free enterprise, then it should recognize that free enterprise can only contribute to the nation's needed research and development if private industry is allowed to generate the necessary funds for investment. "Profits" should be applauded if they are reinvested boldly and wisely for research and development. Finally, the public should get over its anti-technology prejudices. It should decide once and for all that science and technology are not independent, external enemies but the public's own tools, and get on with seeing that these tools are used to achieve the goals the citizens choose.

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IN PRAISE OF SCIENCE

by Philip Handler

For two centuries, concern has occasionally welled up for the societal consequences of one or another technology. But until recently, science itself was viewed by society as an autonomous venture of high integrity whose conduct is best left to science. That wall has been breached, probably forever.

There's been public pressure not to undertake certain studies because of fear that society might not be able to live with the answers gained in investigations.

I cannot easily condone any abridgement of the freedom of scientific inquiry. Historically, freedom of inquiry, like freedom of speech, religion, the press and assembly came to be cherished precisely as the scientific search for truth freed mankind from dogmatic religious and political thought. Scientific inquiry has challenged the dogma of an authoritarian world for 400 years. It has freed men's minds as it has eased their toil. And it was Thomas Jefferson who said, "There is no truth on earth that I fear to be known."

Neither law nor tradition confer an absolute right of freedom from all restraints, but we need accept no constraints other than those found essential to protect other values that we cherish from injury. To use the power of government for the suppression of ideas—ideas that might otherwise flow from research—would take us back to an era of dogmatism. In the long run, it is impossible to stand in the way of the exploration of truth that someone will learn somewhere, sometime. It remains evident that science cannot be planned very far into the future. That we shall be surprised is the only certainty.

The governments of countries that plan central economies plan research and development to accelerate attainments of the societies they already have in mind. We prefer to evolve, to accept a pluralistic approach to our future and to have the multiple instrumentalities of our society—universities, government, industry—engaged in the research and development that they find most appropriate, and then let us all choose, however awkwardly, which of their products to adopt.

We've little understanding of the factors that prompted the extraordinary acceleration of science in Europe two centuries ago—or the subtle circumstances that caused the technological torch to move from Europe to America a century later. Presumably, some blend of the frontier democracy, primitive capitalism and the entrepreneurial talents of a handful of inventors were involved. But we do know that we now live in an overpopulated, competitive, interdependent world that the United States no longer dominates; that many another once-powerful, prosperous, dominant civilization has disappeared; and that even now we are sharing the torch of technology with several other nations.

Few of us can readily believe that the United States could lose its prominent place in the world, as have other nations within our lifetimes. Somehow, we feel that the United States is exempt. And yet to think so is to fly in the face of history. Many nations at the apex of their power were inwardly doomed when their will power began to falter, and therefore we should be most careful about retreating from the specific challenges of our epoch.

Each noteworthy civilization has grappled with the great problem of its time. For the Greeks, it was the organization of society; for the Romans, the organization of empire; for the Medievalists, the spelling-out of their relationship to God; for the Europeans of the 15th and 16th centuries, mastery of the oceans. And for the last two centuries, it has been the scientific understanding of nature and the creation of an industrial society.

For tomorrow, the challenge is to continue these latter tasks. It is to determine how mankind can live in harmony on this finite globe, establish permanent relationships to its finite shrinking resources as well as with infinite space, and to enable achievement of the individual potentials of individual human beings as we reduce the ravages of disease. If instead, intent on a risk-free society, we succumb to a national failure of nerve, if we always heed the nay-sayers, then again Shakespeare will have been proved prescient in his lines: "There is a tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune. Omitted, all the voyage of their life is bound in shallows and in miseries. On such a full sea are we now afloat; and we must take the current when it serves, or lose our ventures."

Those lines apply to America in the 1980s. Whatever other policies we follow, we can be unabashedly optimistic concerning the prospects for continuing great discoveries in every discipline of science. And yet we should note that even in science the international position of this country is changing. For two decades after the war, the United States conducted the largest, most powerful, most productive scientific endeavor in history, and it has never been more productive than at this moment. But the economic growth of other nations has enabled them also to develop their scientific potential. Today we constitute perhaps one-third of the world effort, albeit our enterprise still seems somewhat disproportionately successful. But it's clear that the others are rapidly gaining; since the fruits of science are universally available, we should be pleased, not dismayed, by that fact, but only so long as we maintain our own scientific capabilities.

Our current malaise stems from a few bad experiences—from the time-delay in meeting the high hopes and expectations raised in the minds of those who appreciate the great power of science, the force of technology. Those expectations have taken on a new light as science has also revealed the true condition of man on earth. And I see no alternative but to address rigorously the principal questions of science and to use our ever widening understanding or increasingly sophisticated technology with grace and charity and wisdom. We're not omnipotent, but neither are we unwitting foils of powerful forces over which we lack control. We've learned not to seek a perfect world. Our joy must be found in those acts by which we exercise our unique capabilities to eradicate what we abhor and to promote that which we value and cherish. I retain my faith that the science that has revealed the most awesome and profound beauties we have yet beheld is also the principal tool that our civilization has developed to mitigate the condition of man.

Dr. Handler has been President of the National Academy of Sciences since 1969.

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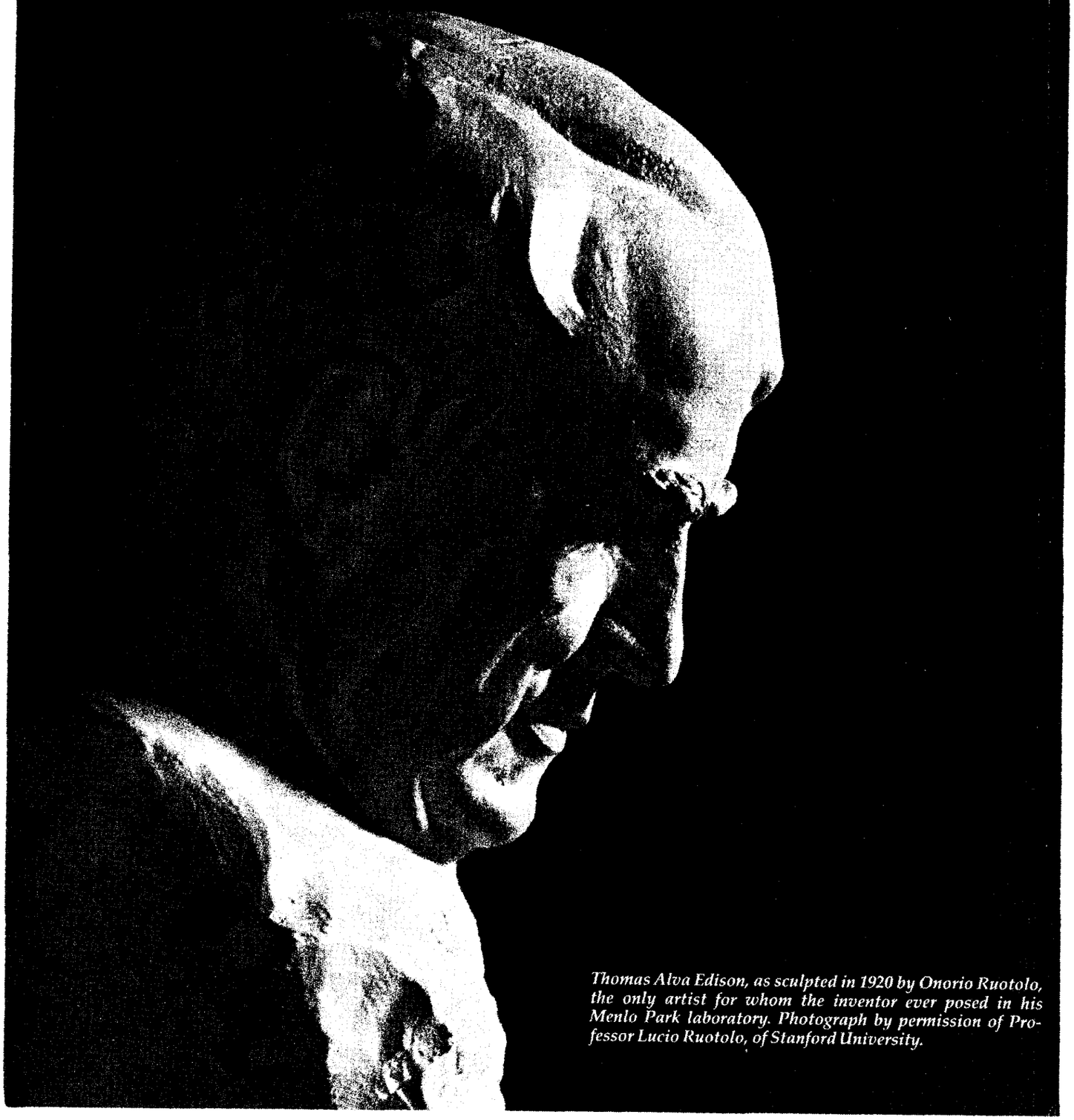
THOMAS ALVA EDISON: IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INVENTION OF THE ELECTRIC LIGHT BULB



Thomas Alva Edison, as sculpted in 1920 by Onorio Ruotolo, the only artist for whom the inventor ever posed in his Menlo Park laboratory. Photograph by permission of Professor Lucio Ruotolo, of Stanford University.

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star Dick Button with permanent loss of hearing in one ear, while another victim suffers from recurring periods of blurred vision.

Anita Bryant's purge in Florida touched off a dramatic increase in violence against homosexuals. The new wave of anti-gay violence is encouraged by the hate campaigns of the new corporate fundamentalist religions and by legislative and judicial hostility that affirms the idea of the homosexual-as-outlaw. In the last two years, street attacks by roaming gangs have sharply increased in areas with large and visible gay populations, like Key West, Fla., Provincetown, Mass., Fort Lauderdale, Fla., and New York City. A rash of murders has hit Boston's Public Garden, a homosexual trysting spot; Washington, D.C.'s Iwo Jima monument, another gay meeting place, and areas frequented by gays in the Twin Cities of Minneapolis-St. Paul. Madison, Wis., homosexuals are organizing against an outbreak of gang rapes of gay men. In San Francisco, the gay community has organized a "blow your whistle on crime" campaign to combat the rising tide of anti-gay street violence in the wake of the Briggs hate campaign, and has started a major campaign against homophobia in the police department after beatings of women by police at two lesbian bars (Amelia's and Peg's Club) and the destruction of the Elephant's Walk, a men's bar on Castro Street, by club-wielding cops who shouted "sick cocksuckers" and "*Sieg Heil, Banzai!*"

This violence seemed validated by the verdict in the murder trial of Dan White, the politician who assassinated San Francisco Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk, a verdict that could put the former cop and fireman back on the streets in just thirty-two months. American courts have often allowed "fag-killers" to go unpunished. Three Houston cops were acquitted last year even though they had admitted attacking Anthony Ramirez as he was leaving a gay bar and drowning him; Richard J. Heaken, a young gay activist, was beaten to death as he left an Arizona gay bar a year and a half ago by a gang of all-American high school footballers; while in San Francisco, just after the events in Dade County, a young gay man named Richard Hillsborough was stabbed to death by a gang of youths who shouted, "This one's for Anita." In none of these cases did the killers serve time.

"The folkways of our culture are filled with images of homosexuals as sick, evil, less than human," says Dr. John Money, pediatrician, professor of medical psychology at Johns Hopkins University, chief of its Gender Identity Clinic and co-editor of the five-volume *Handbook of Sexology*. "There are so many signals from the home, the school, the church—and from the media, which make homosexuality the daily butt of television humor and have given such publicity to Anita Bryant and her gays-are-child-molesters campaign as to legitimize her views, especially in the eyes of our youth. At the same time, the law itself epitomizes this attitude. The very fact that our laws make homosexuality a crime puts the stamp of approval on the idea that 'queers' are animals."

"Look," sighs Money, "it's like a farm kid who proves his manhood by going out and shooting a deer. There are no wild animals in our cities, but the society's values make the homosexual a 'faggot,' easy prey, an urban animal."

Portland—The Maine Supreme Court has upheld the use of force in warding off a homosexual advance. The ruling came last month in the appeal hearing of Leland Philbrick, 23, who had previously been convicted of the second-degree murder of Charles Porterfield, 18. Philbrick claimed that Porterfield picked him up while hitchhiking. Philbrick said the younger man had put a hand on his knee and, when repulsed, became "aggressive." Philbrick then took a gun from his knapsack and shot Porterfield three times.

In a climate of increasing violence, the liberal isolation of and hostility toward the homosexual rights movement is tantamount to complicity in that violence. For until the issue of full homosexual equality is inscribed on the human rights agenda; until the progressive movements recognize that the same forces attacking the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights and affirmative action are singling out gays for attack; until the disease of homophobia—which, like anti-Semitism, is also a political movement—is placed on a

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moral par with racism and misogyny and rooted out of our culture, we can expect more violence, more funerals. When will the liberal silence end? □

Fourth Branch

(Continued From Front Cover)

lation we'll have returned to the people the control over these regulations and at the same time sensitized the bureaucracy."

President Carter, like Presidents before him, is opposed to the legislative veto. The White House argues that the veto disrupts the constitutional scheme of separation of powers. It excludes the President from his proper role in the legislative process by foreclosing his use of the executive veto, and it impermissibly allows the legislature to intrude on the President's constitutional duties to carry out and implement previously enacted legislation. President Carter has threatened to veto any legislation carrying an across-the-board legislative veto provision.

The President's own strategy to gain control of the fourth branch also involves assuming a wholesale review power. Soon after he moved into the White House, President Carter established a Regulatory Analysis Review Group, directed by his economic and budget aides in the Council of Economic Advisers and the Council on Wage and Price Stability, to analyze the cost of selected new regulations. Then, in March 1978, the President issued Executive Order 12044 directing executive branch agencies (and in effect asking independent agencies) to subject their major regulations to a "regulatory analysis." The analysis was to contain a succinct statement of the problem requiring Federal action, the major ways of dealing with it, analysis of the economic effects of the proposed regulation and of alternative approaches considered, and a justification of the selected approach. The Regulatory Analysis Review Group was to insure that these regulatory analyses were accurate and complete.

This White House apparatus has already been put into motion. Last summer a regulation of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration protecting textile workers from cotton dust provoked criticism from the regulatory review group, which worried that the regulation was too costly. The issue went to the President, who ordered some modifications in the rule. (See Edward Greer, "Lives in the Balance Sheet," *The Nation*, May 19.) Then, in January, the review group raised questions about the costs of new strip-mine regulations proposed by the Department of the Interior. White House officials met privately with Interior officials to discuss the matter after the period for public comment on the proposed regulations had ended. The review group also expressed concern about the cost of regulations proposed by the Environmental Protection Agency to reduce sulfur emissions of coal-fired power plants. The E.P.A. has decided to relax the standards.

At its annual meeting a few weeks ago, the American Bar Association approved a resolution calling for Presidential authority to veto regulations. The fact that the resolution was authored by Lloyd Cutler, newly appointed special counsel to the President, gives it particular importance as a clue to what lies ahead.

In practice, both the legislative veto and White House review will politicize the entire rule-making process. Anticipating the possibility of an adverse reaction from Congressional oversight committees (where the legislative veto is to be lodged) or from the White House, agency decision makers will willingly negotiate with Congressional committees and White House staff prior to issuing a new regulation. Accordingly, the regulation will be modified and tailored to the concerns expressed by these Congressional and White House staff members, and a compromise "solution" will be developed.

It is one thing to accept the need for greater political accountability and coordination of regulation, and quite another to accept the proposition that either the Congress or the President, or both, should therefore be free to intrude directly into the regulatory process. Such a proposition raises a fundamental constitutional issue beyond separation of powers between the two political branches. It is this issue that the third branch, the judiciary, will be called upon to referee.

Traditionally, the courts have paid particular attention to the mechanisms by which administrative agencies collect, manage and evaluate the information on which they base their decisions. All agency policy making depends to a large extent on finding and determining facts, and to the extent that such fact-finding results in decisions that will harm identifiable parties, the regulatory process may resemble not so much a miniature legislature as a type of court. Under these circumstances, the courts have determined that the constitutional guarantee of "due process of law" within the Fifth Amendment requires that decision making be fair and impartial, and that the regulator base his decision solely on the record before him, to which the affected parties have had an opportunity to respond and contribute. Interference by Congress or by the President might render the proceeding unfair or partial, or at least make it appear to be so. Moreover, if Congress or the President were to intrude off the record—ex parte—then affected parties would have no opportunity to respond to or rebut the substance of these communications.

It is but a small step from this principle of due process to that of requiring that regulators always engage in "reasoned decision making" after a "genuine dialogue" with interested members of the public. After all, to be an interested member of the public is to have a perceived stake in a regulatory outcome. The guarantee of due process would seem applicable not only where one or a few identifiable individuals are likely to be injured by a decision but also where more than a few individuals *perceive* that they may be harmed. And accurate

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fact-finding surely is important whether the decision will affect few or many.

Thus the line that Congress attempted to draw in the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 between *adjudication* (requiring formal trial-type procedures) and informal *rule making* (requiring only that the public be given notice and an opportunity to comment) has been difficult for the courts to apply. Court rulings over the past decade have recognized that interested members of the public are entitled to participate in agency rule making, and agency decision makers are obligated to undertake a fair and objective weighing of issues as they have been developed on a public record.

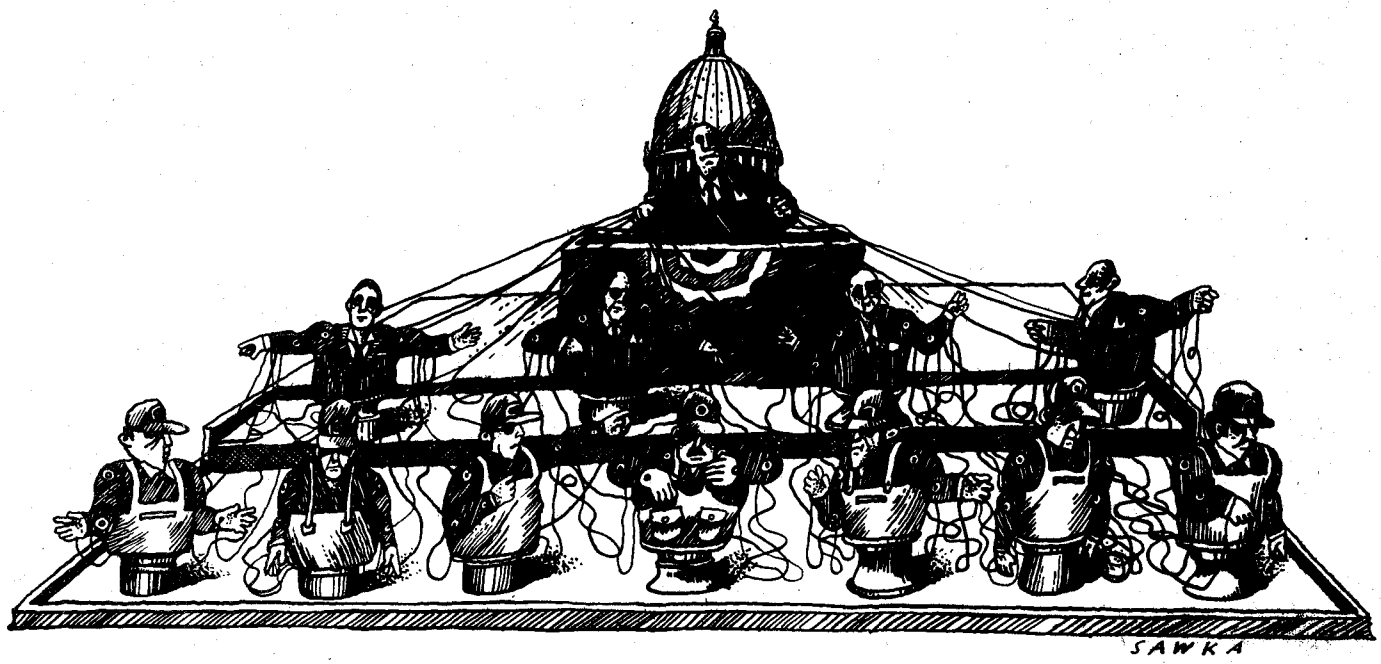
The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia has expanded on this logic. In a 1977 case, *Home Box Office* v. *FCC*, a panel of the court invalidated Federal Communications Commission rules governing pay television, in part because commissioners had engaged in off-the-record conversations with private parties and with members of Congress about the substance of the proposed rules. The Court reasoned that such ex parte communications made it difficult to judge the truth in what the agency asserted it knew, since there was no opportunity for opposing parties to reveal biases, inaccuracies or gaps in the information so received. More to the point, said the Court, such secret discussions are inconsistent with "fundamental notions of fairness implicit in due process and with the ideal of reasoned decision making on the merits which undergirds all of our administrative law."

This logic would seem to cast some doubt on the propriety of either White House or Congressional off-the-record intrusion into the rule-making process. If the President or Congress should threaten to reject a regulation after the agency's rule-making process has come to an end, and therefore elicit behind-the-scenes agreement from the agency to change or amend the regulation in order to forestall such a veto, how is the information on which the modification is based to be tested for truthfulness and completeness? And how are the courts to insure that agency officials engaged in reasoned, fair decision making?

Various interest groups are already moving to challenge White House interventions on these grounds. The United Textile Workers of America seek to invalidate OSHA's cotton-dust standard. Environmental groups are seeking to enjoin further White House communications with the Secretary of the Interior about the proposed strip-mining regulations, and to prevent the Secretary from considering any White House comments proffered to date. They are also moving to challenge the E.P.A.'s coal-fired power plant rules. Should Congress enact a broad legislative veto provision, as is expected, the off-the-record Congressional interventions in agency rule making which are likely to result will be subject to similar challenges.

When the issue reaches the courts, it can be expected that both political branches will contend that they are not "parties" to the proceedings, and that their off-the-record communications to agency heads therefore do not violate due process. The Congress (and its staff) and the President (and White House staff) are arguably in the same position as the agency decision maker. In fulfilling their constitutional duties to "make all laws" or "faithfully execute" them, both branches will argue that they are necessarily part of the agency's decision-making structure. Thus the ex parte "curtain" which guards agency decision makers from off-the-record communications is to be drawn around *both* the agency head *and* the White House or the Congress.

Although ex parte communications to any such decision makers within the "curtain" during rule making are prohibited, so the argument will go, there is no legal impediment to conversations (and negotiations) among them about the substance of a rule, just as there is nothing unseemly about such conversations among commissioners of a single regulatory agency. Moreover, there is far less reason to be concerned about arbitrary decision making on the basis of incomplete or inaccurate information so long as one of the



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political branches is directly involved; its accountability to the public will automatically check any administrative excesses.

Beneath these legal abstractions lies a fundamental dispute about the nature and purpose of the rule-making process. On one side is the view that agency decision making should approximate, as closely as possible, what the politically accountable branches of Government *would have decided* had they possessed the time, information and will to make such decisions. Under this view agencies should not shield themselves from the hurly-burly of politics. On the contrary, frank and informal communications with members of Congress, White House staff and interest groups—in candid, off-the-record discussions—allow the agency to fashion politically acceptable resolutions of regulatory problems. To the extent that the specter of a White House or Congressional veto encourages agency officials to solicit actively such views prior to issuing a final rule, so much the better.

Thus, the "judicialization" of the regulatory process, requiring that all communications to agency decision makers about a proposed rule be placed on the record for possible comment and rebuttal by other participants, puts regulatory agencies in a political straitjacket. They are unable to make politically acceptable decisions because they have insulated themselves from political pressures. Ironically, the legislative veto and White House review may have come as inevitable political responses to this failure.

But if the proper role of regulatory agencies is merely to mirror or mimic outcomes that the political branches otherwise would generate, there seems little reason why Congress would broadly delegate issues to regulatory agencies in the first place. Neither Congress nor the White House is lacking in staff to investigate, support and negotiate acceptable solutions to complex legal and economic issues. (At last count, Congressional staff members totaled 13,500, not including the Congressional Reference Service, Congressional Budget Office, General Accounting Office, and Office of Technological Assessment; the Executive Office of the President has at least 1,500 employees.)

Thus the simple fact that Congress and the President choose in a particular instance *not* to confine agency discretion within highly detailed legislation (in contrast, for example, with their willingness to do so in the Internal Revenue Code of 1954) suggests a function for the agency other than political mimicry.

Contrasted with the notion that agencies are or should be mini-legislatures, therefore, is the view that the rule-making process exists precisely to elucidate facts and judgments with which the political branches consider themselves ill-equipped to deal. Perhaps the issues at stake are simply too "hot" for detailed political resolution, or else they demand the sort of long-term, consistent approach to policy making that is incompatible with the short-term vagaries of the political process. Either way, Congress's delegation of broad discretion to an administrative agency—to decide, for example, whether certain food substances "are poisonous or deleterious to health," certain gasoline additives "will endanger the public health or welfare," certain broadcasters will act in "the public interest," or certain trade practices are "unfair"—implies that resolution of issues depends on public clarification and explanation. Such elucidation allows the public to understand complex issues and to express its will in a more focused and visible way than is often possible within the political branches. Moreover, it encourages confidence in Government fairness and helps insure the accuracy of facts upon which policy making is based.

The very process of elucidation—on a record, in full public view—may *itself* generate political will to decide a specific issue where there had been no such will before. Congress acted decisively to postpone the F.D.A.'s proposed ban on the sale of saccharine, in part because the public was not satisfied with evidence elicited during the rule-making process linking saccharine to cancer. On the other hand, the findings of fact and expert judgments relied upon by the Federal Trade Commission in its recently issued rule governing the marketing of thermal insulation encouraged Congress to enact stiff safety standards for such products.

By this view, White House or Congressional intervention—in the form of negotiations behind closed doors—violates the integrity of the process. The White House and Congress are distinct bureaucracies with their own sources of information, patterns of decision making and susceptibilities to special interests. Their behind-the-scenes participation may therefore allow special interests to lobby their cases in secret. As a result, the public rule-making process may become a sideshow, unrelated to the real process of negotiation among Congressional committee staff, agency staff, White House aides and special-interest representatives who will dictate the substance of the rule. Congress and the President could thereby achieve through the back door a political resolution they could not achieve through the front.

At its base, then, the debate turns on the importance of visible, open policy making, and the assumption that accountability is linked to visibility. It is difficult to hold any single official responsible for outcomes that are the product of secret negotiations among Congressional, agency and White House staff and affected industries. Thus, rather than render regulatory agencies more accountable to the Congress and the President, ex parte politicization of the rule-making process may render the entire Federal Government less accountable to the people.

If we must have White House review or legislative veto, let it occur only *after* rule making (and judicial review) has ended. Should the White House or the Congress wish to participate in the rule-making process before that time, either branch should be required to place its comments on the public record, along with those of other parties. If either the White House or the Congress thereafter is dissatisfied with the regulation that emerges from the process, its rejection would be in the face of public knowledge of the facts and judgments underlying the agency's decision. At least then public debate will have had full benefit of the rule-making process, untainted by ex parte politics. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

What Nathan Knew

MARK SHECHNER

THE GHOST WRITER. *By Philip Roth. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 180 pp. $8.95.*

Whatever else a story may do, its one indispensable element is the imagination's first premise: *what if?* What if the Prince of Denmark should be visited one night by the ghost of his dead father, who informs him that his peaceful passing away was actually a poisoning, and that the Prince must take revenge on the guilty parties —the Prince's mother and his uncle? What if a petty clerk in Prague should awaken one morning to find that he has become an enormous insect, or what if Franz Kafka himself should survive his bout with tuberculosis in 1924, live long enough to have to flee the Nazis, and emigrate to Newark, N.J., just in time to become Philip Roth's Hebrew schoolteacher? Such is the premise of what is surely Roth's finest piece of short fiction, " 'I Always Wanted You to Admire My Fasting'; or, Looking at Kafka." In that story, Roth brings Professor Kafka home for dinner; Mr. and Mrs. Roth fix him up with Aunt Rhoda, the spinster, and Kafka eventually takes her away one weekend to Atlantic City where, being Franz Kafka, he falls short of being a man. Because Roth refused to cure him of all his afflictions, Kafka loses not only another woman but a chance to put down roots in New Jersey. He remains as wifeless in Newark as he had been in Prague, and never does become Philip Roth's uncle.

Here is an example of the writer pushing his premises as far as he can until some other consideration, some reality principle, pushes back. Franz Kafka can be kept alive long enough to get to Newark, but he can't be restored to confident sexual manhood—not, at any rate, by Aunt Rhoda. To suppose otherwise might make a good story, but it would be about another man, not Kafka. Take another example: What if Anne Frank could have survived the Holocaust and emigrated to America to become a student—a *coed*—at a small college near Stockbridge, Mass.? And what if, some years later, she should meet up with Nathan Zuckerman, a young writer from Newark, who is about Roth's age and is currently in hot water throughout Essex County because of a story he has written, featuring his own family, that is taken to be anti-Semitic? Stop there. The difficulties are immediately obvious. Anne Frank can't be reinvented like Franz Kafka. Kafka was so wholly of the imagination that it remains his medium even after his death, but Anne Frank belongs to history, and to a history so tragic and irredeemable that the imagination has to feel a little chastened before it. But what if our Zuckerman, whose fantasy life sometimes overpowers him as it should in a writer, were only to imagine that a young woman he meets might be Anne Frank, and that for his own personal motives that is just another reason to fall in love with her? Then you have Philip Roth's *The Ghost Writer*, a book about how Anne Frank might be invented by a young man who has need of imagining her.

This encounter takes place at the isolated country home of the writer, E.I. Lonoff, a gray Jewish eminence who, despite seven books and a National Book Award, which he refused, has scarcely any popular following and desires even less than he has. Lonoff is a recluse who has renounced all passions except those of his art, and a master of style who has devoted his life to *le mot juste*, or turning sentences around and around until he has gotten them right. His stories may go to twenty-seven drafts. Zuckerman is in awe of so much dedication, and Lonoff, in turn, has taken a shine to the young writer whose voice, Lonoff tells him, "is the most compelling voice I've encountered in years, certainly for somebody starting out."

Not everyone is ready to concur in that, least of all Zuckerman's own father, who is outraged by his son's most recent story in which the messy details of an old family squabble are laid bare, and all of Jewry, thereby, has been informed against. "It is about kikes," he tells Nathan. "Kikes and their love of money. That is all our good Christian friends will see, I guarantee you." Though the outline of the story we are actually given sounds a good deal more like Saul Bellow's "The Old System" than anything Roth has ever written, the predicament is vintage Roth, who, it is widely believed, holds the world's record for acts of treason against his people. "Doc" Zuckerman, the pharmacist, even takes the offending story to Essex County's most distinguished Jewish jurist, Judge Leopold Wapter, who sends Nathan a ten-point questionnaire about his Jewish loyalties and beliefs that might well have been made up from Roth's own brimming files on betrayal. "Why in a story with a Jewish background must there be (a) adultery; (b) incessant fighting within a family over money; (c) warped human behavior in general?" "Can you honestly say that there is anything in your short story that would not warm the heart of a Julius Streicher or a Joseph Goebbels?" And more.

Roth need not have invented a line of this. He has been getting such denunciations ever since the publication of his own story, "Epstein," twenty years ago. It does Zuckerman no good to invoke the example of Isaac Babel's Odessa stories, or to protest that Uncle Sidney, the villain of his story, is a direct literary descendant of Benya Krik, the legendary Jewish gangster of Babel's Odessa. Little wonder that he seeks refuge from this onslaught of relatives and community elders in the company of the Jewish master of Flaubertian indifference, whose sole morality is renunciation in living (which makes him not so different, one guesses, from Doc Zuckerman) and a firm mastery of every shade of expression in his writing. If that makes Lonoff sound a little like a Jewish Henry James, that is intentional. In depicting him, Roth has been less interested in the sharp contrasts between Jewish and American cultural traits than in the blendings and overlappings of Old and New World versions of asceticism. Lonoff is one Jewish-American writer whose hyphen stands for a confluence, not a contradiction.

How better for Zuckerman to turn

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the tables on Judge Wapter and the legions of relatives poised to strike him down than to apprentice himself to the "most famous literary ascetic in America," and then, for extra leverage, become a sort of son-in-law by marrying Lonoff's young assistant, Amy Bellette, who offers not only her own devotion to the master's art but something more: a history of suffering. Amy is a D.P. who, with Lonoff's aid, had come to America just after the war some ten years prior, to become, Lonoff avers, the best student of writing he ever had. In a phrase that could only clutch at Zuckerman's literary heart, Lonoff tells him, "She has a remarkable prose style." She also has a remarkable appearance, dominated by large pale eyes and a marked disproportion between body and head, hinting of early injury, misfortune, deprivation. Hinting, that is, of the camps.

Zuckerman is smitten. Why shouldn't this woman with the remarkable style, false name and mysterious European past be Anne Frank herself, miraculously alive and in America and, out of her survivor's stubbornness and pride, refusing to reveal herself, even to her father? Zuckerman can scarcely wait to give his father and all the other enemies of the imagination at home a taste of their own medicine:

> *This is my Aunt Tessie, this is Frieda and Dave, this is Birdie, this is Murray. . . . This is my wife, everyone. She is all I have ever wanted. . . . Remember the dark hair clipped back with a barrette? Well, this is she. . . . Anne, says my father, the Anne? Oh, how I have misunderstood my son. How mistaken we have been!*

One is tempted at this point to draw the conclusion that *The Ghost Writer* is another instance of the "enormous thrust of ideological and personal assertiveness" that Irving Howe once saw and deplored in Roth. To be sure, Zuckerman is dying to square accounts, but Roth seems willing to settle for something less than severe talionic reprisals. He does not seem as close to this Zuckerman as he has been to other heroes, and if he isn't exactly above his handiwork, paring his fingernails, neither is he scoring points with abandon. It isn't the intractability of Zuckerman's situation that interests Roth here but the strangeness and unpredictability of a world that continually surprises Zuckerman with its own ingenuity.

Amy Bellette may not be Anne Frank, but she is, in her way, a beguiling mixture of dependent child and accomplished young woman, an émigré Peaches Browning with a remarkable prose style who privately addresses Lonoff as Dad-da and has apparently spent years trying to seduce the famous literary ascetic. But Lonoff, who has given everything to art, lives a life so austere that even he complains of its emotional poverty. And yet, in his unguarded moments, that is, when his wife is not about, he entertains his Amy by doing impressions of Jimmy Durante. As Zuckerman sits up late into the night in Lonoff's study, his perusal of Lonoff's books is interrupted by voices from Amy's bedroom above. What is he to do but stand on Lonoff's desk, atop a volume of James's stories at that, and apply his ear to the ceiling? What he overhears are Amy's efforts to lure Dad-da into her bed. But he is steadfast, and even when she sheds her nightgown to stand naked before him, he remains firm and sensible. He is a married man and will not hear of an affair. ("I've had the bed," he confides elsewhere to Zuckerman.) Only once does he yield to her wishes, when she cries out, "Oh, tell me a story, Sing me a song. Oh, imitate the great Durante, I really need it tonight." *Oh, imitate the great Durante!* The primal scene isn't what it used to be.

What is the point of all these

Coming Next Week! A special issue on Daniel Patrick Moynihan with essays by Herbert Gutman, Ronald Steel, Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, Philip Green and others.

SAGG BEACH

It's usual walking to the beach
And just this way. The route so naturally accustomed
Forms itself from us and just as naturally
With others here will change. We move among
The objects that we choose, this coat that fits,
This pebble that you love because it's blue,
And these accumulating weight will bring us home.
Yes, childhood's one of nature's hardest things:
No worse than the ocean though, and beautiful at the edge
It meets and leaves. A thousand surfaces
And each might have been exactly else,
As sure as any raw material, but comes to us
Shined as it is, to be. The passengers in your painting
Of the train rest in the faces that they wear—
Anonymous with travel, arrived at honestly? Should we
Count the eddies that brought them to their seats,
The back and forth of moments paying fare,
Currents guilty with good-byes or devious to avoid
The pleading obstacles? Their heads are round or long
Accordingly, but when they bump against the windows:
Personal fact. Not one of them who couldn't be happier,
Yet each one sunk in his compartment as a stone,
The gem of a little history not to be undone. In them
The present seems a firm result, in us the endless shame
Of a model manufacture that went wrong. We dream
On our potential as if nothing had happened since,
On our behavior as if it could be melted and re-cast,
As if we each were the parents of our specifications
And not their child. It's an anxious excursion,
Red-penciling your infancy. Believe me,
Since you are here with us, and though the experience
Of your design was vast and cruel, each one of us
Can see your shape and envy you. The form you have
Is just as you are, real, and when you shine
It is with this delivered fact.

Douglas Crase

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henanigans, or of the bitter domestic blowup that follows, in which Lonoff's wife, for whom he has never done the great Durante, or much else for that matter, marches out in despair, calling out to Amy as she goes, "The classroom daydream has come true! You get the creative writer—and I get to go!" In a sense there is no point at all, if by point we mean something like weighty moral purpose. This is the least tendentious of Roth's books, far more the bemused slice of life than the anguished self-exculpation. Here, it is the other guy's marriage that is on the rocks. Lonoff has chosen the perfection of the work over the perfection of the life, and Roth looks on the consequences with detachment. Maybe it is Lonoff's own imperturbability, his peculiar absence of conflict or normal passion, that robs the moment of its desperation, but situations that were disastrous in earlier books are merely ironic in this one.

Even the element of self-examination here is quite unlike the turbulent self-inquisition we have come to expect of Roth, since it is not destructive motives that are being mercilessly interrogated but the imagination itself. Accordingly, the regressive portions of the personality that elsewhere have been central take a back seat to such considerations as history and literature. The Roth who wrote this book is the Roth who edits the "Writers From the Other Europe" series for Penguin Books and spends much of his time in London or Prague in the company of Czech writers like Milan Kundera, to whom he dedicates his book, and Ludvík Vaculík. It is the Roth, in other words, who has set his sights on becoming a European novelist. While Newark is still very much with him, it is now Newark under the shadow of Amsterdam in 1944, thus infinitely diminished in scale. Newark is now only the embarkation point for a flight into the greater world, while Prague and Amsterdam are the cities of light and fog out there beyond the sheltered confines of the Weequahic neighborhood. Doc Zuckerman and Judge Wapter's fears may be misapplied, but they are not unfounded.

This book finds Roth poised ambiguously between his old obsession with sexual failure and domestic crisis and a more recent concern with history in the tragic plane, but unable to take the full plunge into matters on which he has so tenuous a grasp. Here, and in *The Professor of Desire*, he introduces

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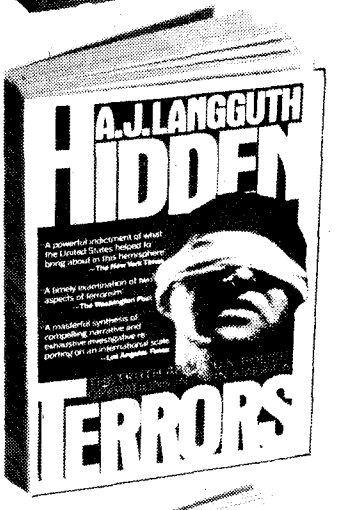

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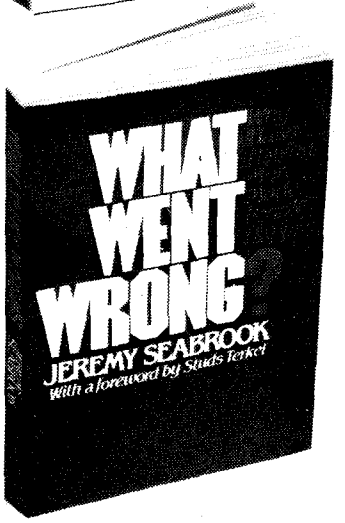

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What Went Wrong?
Why Hasn't Having More Made People Happier
by JEREMY SEABROOK

PANTHEON

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some catastrophe of historic proportions—the Holocaust or the Soviet rape of Czechoslovakia—and then scales the story down to the level of a domestic blowup that seems quite beside the point. Even while his imagination wrestles with horrors of world-historical magnitude, his writing stays close to what he knows firsthand.

Yet Roth can scarcely be blamed for playing coy with the Holocaust and allowing his Zuckerman only to imagine the experiences Amy Bellette has come through. The fictional medium does not yield to simple outrage, as Bernard Malamud found out for himself in writing *The Fixer*, where he plunged into material that gave his imagination no room to maneuver and produced a novel that was scrupulously moral and artistically inert. Now, with *Dubin's Lives*, a far more skillful piece of writing than *The Fixer*, he has confirmed that he too is more adept at domestic pathos than tragic history.

No idea lends itself to fiction except through a strategy of presentation, and Roth, who has not been a student of Henry James for nothing, knows that better than anyone. The strategy of placing Anne Frank's double in Stockbridge in 1956 and introducing her to Nathan Zuckerman gives Roth freedom to invent characters, entertain fantasies, and shuttle at will between continents, which are now only places in the mind, while any direct assault on history would have closed off these possibilities. And yet, for my taste, *The Ghost Writer* could have been bolder with its modest premises and taken a few more risks. This is Roth's most restrained book since *When She Was Good*, and his circumspection is certainly in keeping with the hazardous nature of his themes. Still, I'd like to know more about the Lonoff who does Durante imitations in the bedroom and less about that perfect equanimity and dedication. Unless we can imagine that there is something fairly wild lurking beneath all that composure, Lonoff must seem an unappealing figure, and maybe his wife, as she walks out the door, is telling us all we need to know about him. "Nothing can be touched, nothing can be changed, everybody must be quiet, the children must shut up, their friends must stay away until four—There is his religion of art, my young successor: rejecting life! *Not* living is what he makes his beautiful fiction *out* of!" Is that because Lonoff is in mourning for the Jews of Europe, or because he has mastered the art of civilized sublimation, turning all his sex into prose, or because he simply lacks his fair share of life force? His canons of reticence give us not a clue, and Roth, for once, has settled for telling us far less than we want to know. □

Missions Impossible

PASSION PLAY. *By Jerzy Kosinski. St. Martin's Press. 271 pp. $10.95.*

HANS KONING

Jerzy Kosinski, author of such novels as *The Painted Bird* and *Steps* and now of *Passion Play*, has during the past fifteen years been one of our not very numerous successful, yet serious, novelists. His books, including this new novel, are highly fragmented; they are full of violence and sex (and sexual violence) and make for what some librarians call "easy reads," but there is of course more to them than that.

Kosinski is a political writer and his novels are political propaganda. So are, in my semantics, all novels: the most private love story, when taking our present society for granted, is a free enterprise/democracy propaganda message, though the author would not have had any such intentions. Kosinski, who left his native Poland in 1957, is a dissident only in that he rejects everything to do with the political and economic structure of Eastern Europe, in which he perceives absolutely nothing but institutionalized criminality. He has made it clear that he is in the United States not as an exiled foreigner but as an American writer, with English the only language he cares to think and work in. As such a writer, he fits by choice into no clear tradition or niche.

The heroes of his novels are lonely and anonymous men, outsiders, never with an everyday profession. In *Blind Date*, the hero was called Levanter; in *Passion Play*, Fabian. These men have colorless stage names and they themselves are almost indistinguishable from one another. They are usually refugees or escapees from Eastern Europe, though the rich American heir of *The Devil Tree* thinks and talks not very differently from Fabian in *Passion Play* whose very origin has become anonymous: we are told that he was born "in one of those marginal 'old countries,' their borders and boundaries forgotten now. . . ." (Actually, I cannot think of any country to which this would apply. The Baltic republics? Their boundaries are not forgotten, not even in the U.S.S.R.)

Many authors keep such a distance from their books that it would be improper to look for a link between them and their protagonists. Not so with Kosinski. His novels are personal accusatory statements, and he clearly wants us to draw no line between his own reality and that of his fiction. In fact, it would be hard for him to hide behind the concept of "fiction," for his novels cry out, "This is how the world looks and I am the sworn witness to the truth of it." In a new introduction he wrote to *The Painted Bird*, his first novel, his own adventures are depicted as interwoven and of a piece with those of his heroes.

The Painted Bird, which established his name, is different from the later novels in that its hero is the child, not the man; but the child, too, is lonely, an outsider, anonymous. Describing childhood in German-occupied Poland the novel builds a platform from which the later novels took off. I don't doubt that it created the stir it did because so many Americans considered it their first real insight into life in Europe during World War II. In the same way, his following novels appeared to give readers here a shockingly direct feel of life under Communism or state socialism the more convincing since Kosinski never tried to contrast his view with pleasant images from the West. Although one of his heroes says, "I have found people to be good everywhere," he shows Americans (like the French or the Swiss) living in jungles of unmitigated greed and cruelty. The lives of old people are as vile in Poland (*Steps*) as they are in Florida (*Cockpit*). In the United States as in Eastern Europe Kosinski's characters move from one grotesque catastrophe to another.

Having lived under a German occupation myself, I have always been in

Hans Koning is a New York novelist whose forthcoming book is America Made Me.

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ensely uncomfortable with the images in *The Painted Bird.* In his new introduction, Kosinski writes that its critics felt it was too violent. That, assuredly, was not my objection. On the contrary, in my experience the violence was even more pervasive, but it was also less dramatic, less "American." To give an example, in *The Painted Bird* the Polish peasants perpetrate acts of the most cruel sexual sadism; it is as if the violence of the Germans conjures up a sexual violence among their victims. But in reality, the German violence was all tangled up with daily degradations and, more important, with hunger and cold. It did not engender sadism but sexlessness. Men and women, perpetually humiliated, aware of their physical being in a negative way only, had little interest in their own or others' bodies, or in any appetite but for food.

I had another crucial reservation about *The Painted Bird.* Much of its drama hinges on the hero, the dark outsider child, repeatedly being taken for a Jew. This mystery of identity, too, seemed to me an oddly American idea. In Eastern Europe, no families that weren't Jewish, except perhaps a few upper-class, Americanized ones, had their boys circumcised, and the Germans used circumcision as a shibboleth that decided between life and death. (I knew of a German Army surgeon in Amsterdam during the war who de-circumcised gentiles with a cosmetic operation.) Thus the drama of *The Painted Bird*, in real life, would have begun and ended with S.S. men and Polish peasants taking down the boy's pants.

In that same introduction, Kosinski described how a couple of Polish police toughs had come to his New York apartment to beat him up. Kosinski, training a pistol on them with one hand, took photographs of them with the other, thus intimidating them into a hasty retreat. I mention this to illustrate how the author and his heroes are birds of a feather. To point a pistol at two Communist agents while taking pictures of them seems to me a very difficult trick. I'm not questioning the author's word, but it shows an adroitness usually seen only in the movies or on television, and this is fitting because Kosinski's heroes function as faultlessly as *Mission Impossible* agents or (joyless) James Bonds, whether murdering without leaving a trace, or outwitting the bureaucracies of Eastern Europe. Their setting is not the natural world, where plans go awry and people do the unexpected, but a mechanical one where every action leads to a foreseeable reaction.

Kosinski's missions impossible are performed in the name of a general "getting even." They are of obsessive intensity even when the opponents seem unworthy of such ire: in *Passion Play* the hero dabs dog pee onto the jackets of annoying neighbors on a café terrace in order to expose them to the smelly attentions of their own dogs; in *Blind Date*, a rich man goes through an elaborate mime as a drooling idiot just to scare a French postal clerk into giving him, contrary to the rules, a tax receipt for three dozen airmail stamps. These are acts of vengeance by knights who perceive not Love but Evil behind each blade of grass.

I use the word "knights" advisedly, for that is how Kosinski would have us see his protagonists. *Passion Play* at times seems written for no other purpose but to hammer this home. Its hero is a wandering polo player—perversely, while most Kosinski heroes are very rich, this is a poor polo player, making his living as a trainer while driving around the United States in a mobile home with a horse trailer. Again and again the fully equipped polo player on his pony, holding his mallet, is made to conjure up the knight in armor, charging with tilted lance. The enemy is less visible this time; this knight Fabian doesn't tilt at Communist bureaucracy and its minions but at what he calls "the group code," an anti-individualistic perversion of freedom that he finds in such seemingly conservative places as the stables of an Argentine playboy, whose reliance on "team mentality" loses him a duel with the lonely Fabian. Which doesn't solve a problem that Fabian, too, poses. He, like Kosinski's previous heroes, lacks one quality among his innumerable accomplishments: human kindness. He shows no trace of a knowledge of its existence. Is anger alone enough to explain knighthood?

Kosinski's view of a loveless and joyless world (the many sex acts in his novels hardly spread joy) is an essential element in his picture of Eastern Europe, which so acutely confirms the worst that Americans think of the place. With not a single idea or ideal motivating them but the thirst for power, everything the pseudo-socialists of those countries think up must become a cruel travesty. On Kosinski's pages, a mountain vacation for workmen as organized in the U.S.S.R. becomes a Bruegelian tableau of vomiting peasants falling down the mountainsides where the Party orders them to ski. But while Kosinski's anger may be an indictment of those authoritarian bureaucracies from which he fled, the actual bureaucrats are people, more human, more complicated and perhaps more pathetic. Even a Stalinist sending the poor to a mountain resort may have thought, and may have been justified in thinking, that he was doing good.

The light Kosinski throws on East or West is not a friendly one and not, I think, a true one. It distorts; it is the strobe light of an American horror movie, in which only absolutes are considered shocking enough to move the audience. In the natural world things are less stark, less mechanically acute. Mares aren't stabled with stallions (as they are in *Passion Play*). The Manson killings were not in the repertory of American revolutionaries (as in *Blind*

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Date), and having a woman stand in front of a plane's radar does not kill her (as it does in *Cockpit*); only radar as powerful as the Greenland anti-missile station can do that.

Another passage in *Cockpit* may illuminate the point. Its hero, thinking back to his life as a 12-year-old in the new western territories ceded by Germany to Poland after World War II, describes how he "punished" all those Polish farmers who, like his father, "had surrendered their rights by accepting resettlement." Spending his days on the telephone and pretending to be a party official, he phones the farmers, some of whom are illiterate, others recovering from a heart attack or watching over a sick child, and summons them on wild goose chases to Warsaw. None of them dare refuse, though the trip may be fatal to some. The calls almost ruin the resettlement scheme.

I have visited those new territories as a journalist and felt that there was much to admire in what the Poles were doing. The heavy hand of Russia lay on them, but Russia was also the country that had liberated them, the only power that could protect them from the *furor teutonicus*. Instead of carping in all directions, as so often in their history, they seemed set on making the best of it.

My point, though, is not that Kosinski's political view of what was happening seems distorted and wrong to me. The point is simpler. In those days and in that area there were no functioning telephones to speak of, and a phone in a European farmhouse would then have been a most unusual item anyway.

Kosinski does not describe a real landscape, East or West, but a combination of the worst in both. He superimposes a mechanized—an "American"—model of an alienated and crime-racked individualism onto an East European society whose commonality does nothing but lay it wide open to a cannibalistic abuse of power.

In such a world we are indeed left with little to expect for humanity and little to hope for except to be left alone. To be left alone is the only Grail the polo knight, like his predecessors in the earlier novels, is pursuing. □

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SAUL MALOFF

JAILBIRD. *By Kurt Vonnegut. Delacorte Press. 265 pp. $9.95.*

Talk about a character who's really lived the life of his time in all its gorgeous opulence and from now on there can be no overlooking Kurt Vonnegut's Walter Starbuck (né Stankiewicz), the narrator, protagonist and jailbird of the new novel, first met upon his release from a Federal minimum-security prison in deepest Georgia and last glimpsed upon returning there as if to his true home. Seared as a boy by the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti; patronized while still a child by a very odd, very rich man determined to send the poor but promising boy, son of his chauffeur and cook, to Harvard; for a brief, unforgettable time an undergraduate, a Communist and editor of a Communist magazine in Cambridge; swain of a rich girl turned Communist and lover of a fiery daughter of the Irish working class; a Government bureaucrat in the high days of the New Deal and later a Government official working for the Nuremberg War Crimes Commission in which capacity he meets and marries a charming Jewish survivor of Auschwitz, thereby appropriating the Holocaust, too, if only at one remove—all this and much more merely by way of preparation for the principal, determining events of his mature life, if that isn't too strong a word for Walter. In short, the full life, lived to the hilt.

Like a doting parent, Vonnegut wants everything for his boy Walter, including the commission of unspeakable sins. For it was Walter who, in his historic appearance before the Nixon committee in 1949, betrayed his best friend, the exemplary Leland Clews, by —in all innocence, and altogether by inadvertence—informing Nixon that Clews, fair-haired boy of the State Department and slated for greater heights (very possibly the White House) had been a Communist. (Brilliantly successful in everything he undertakes, Clews has by then won the rich girl Sarah, whom Walter had courted in vain.)

Walter can't for the life of him understand why Nixon should find that piece of information uncommonly interesting. In the 1930s wasn't everyone a Communist, all men and women of good will? Why, of course; and so it is with some surprise that he observes Clews, after one development and another, go off to jail for his great virtues. Life is packed with little surprises you never know, people are funny, and so on. But on the very day when Walter himself is released from prison in 197 (having been as an invisibly minor member of the Nixon White House ensnarled unwittingly in Watergate peccadilloes by E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy), he happens to run into what do you know, Leland Clews, now a down-at-the-heels salesman of stationery, in Times Square, after not having seen him since those fateful days in 1949. Well, Clews, a gentleman of breeding if ever there was one, not only forgives him gladly and wholly but gratefully as well, telling him that but for him, his character never would have been put to the supreme moral test and found, thank God, adequate to the ordeal. Goody. In Dreamland, which is Vonnegut country, Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers tearfully embrace as long-lost brothers. When can you come to dinner? The sooner the better.

On that happy occasion in Time Square, there is another joyous reunion. The reeking, thickly padded, weirdly bedecked shopping-bag lady in outsize basketball shoes turns out to be Walter's old girl, the former flaming proletarian Mary Kathleen O'Looney, seemingly a little the worse for wear after a half-century's absence from Walter's life. She, too, is overjoyed to see Walter, and more than forgives him for abandoning her for the elusive rich girl. And, as is perfectly natural in elfkingdom, the hooded rags she wears disguise her true identity; she is really, of course, Mrs. Jack Graham, the female Howard Hughes, rich beyond measure, and on her way, as sole owner of RAMJAC, the ultimate conglomerate, to taking possession, piece by piece, first of the American economy and then the planet's: McDonald's Hamburgers, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Down Home Records, *The Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *The New York Times* (where Walter's embittered, estranged

Saul Maloff, a novelist and critic, is working on a memoir of the McCarthy era.

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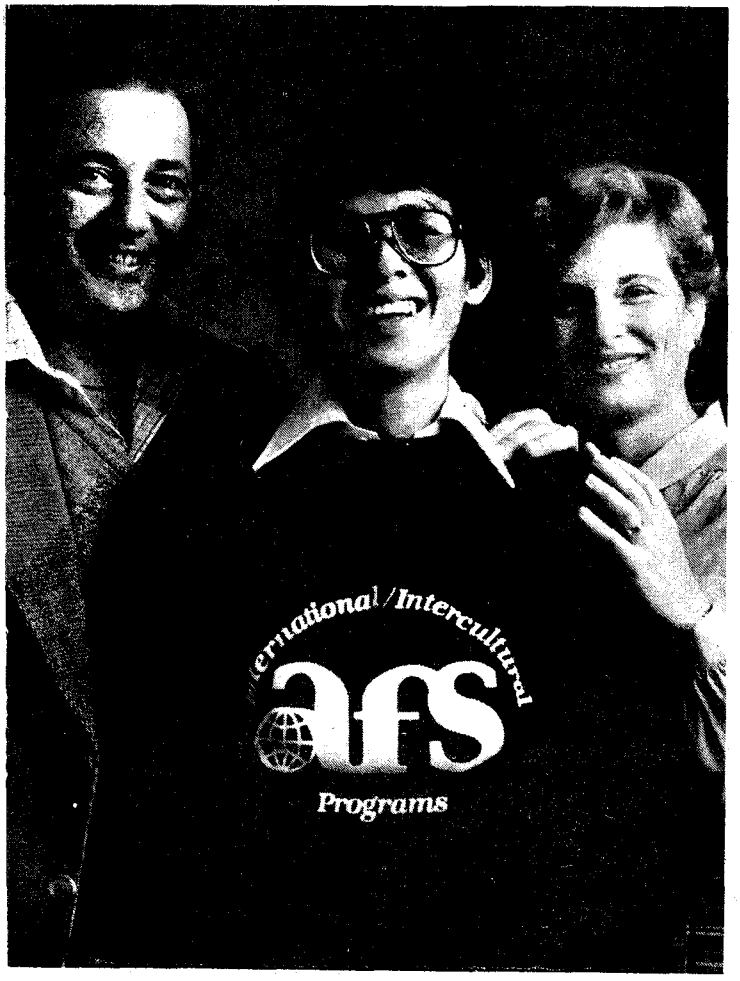
ather-hating son is a book reviewer) . . . *everything.* In Vonnegutland, vhere great surprises abound at the rate f several a minute, the Socialist utopia vill arrive when the fairy godmother, he revolutionary fires of her youth still aging, a marvelous if slightly dotty hopping-bag lady with a heart of gold, uys up the cartels and multinational inosaurs and returns the riches of the arth to their rightful owners, The Peo-le, whose blood and sweat created the vealth of nations. From each, to each: 'aradise enow.

But isn't this all in fun, Vonnegut's ort of high jinks, a playful romp hrough nasty old reality? Well, yes and o: Vonnegut wants it both ways. His eart is in the right place, although his eart, being exceedingly soft, tends to un over in all directions, up and down nd sideways. His dislikes, fairly niform in intensity, are impeccable, nd include the massacre of striking vorkers, the judicial assassins of saint-, blameless Italian anarchists, cor-orate executives who hasten the death f their slaves by such industrial "ac-idents" as radium poisoning, indeed capitalism itself as a system of bondage, war, the Holocaust, Nazis, McCarthy, Nixon, Roy M. Cohn, pollution of planets, the infamies subsumed under the name Watergate, and other blots and stains: He looks with favor upon the oppressed, Socialists of the nicest sort, peace, a fair shake all around, medieval historians temporarily em-ployed as night clerks in sleazy hotels, civility and courtesy, the decent and warm of heart, etc. There's Vonnegut, stout fellow, the *only* writer in America with all the right sentiments. How can anyone of good will, faced with all that rightmindedness, withhold applause?

Critics do, generally; just as Walter's scabrous son the critic does. Approach *Jailbird* with all the tolerance in the world, telling yourself that you'll lower your guard and take Vonnegut for what he is, a pleasant, fanciful, inventive, sometimes funny, unbuttoned, easy-going spinner of tall tales, take it or leave it, and critics be damned, along with Walter's unforgiving and un-forgiven only child. But Vonnegut wants it all, and at the same time hedges all his bets. If you should think he's be-ing perfectly serious, even a little solemn, he does a stand-up routine of one-liners; merely an entertainer, and he'll roll up the big guns. No doubt the Sacco-Vanzetti case, or the historical memory of it, still lives vividly in Von-negut's imagination, but Walter is another matter: he is, after all, a beneficiary of the massacre of strikers (an episode in the making of his patron's vast fortunes), and his conver-sion at Cambridge comes rather too readily, comes, in fact, not out of a revealed process but as a flat, and im-plausible, edict from the author. Walter as narrator provides a short history of the Italian anarchists for the young, amnesiac or uninstructed (Vonnegut's devoted audience) and some of their celebrated statements that can move a heart of stone but did not move Judge Webster Thayer's except to murderous wrath. Withal, Walter is taking a free emotional ride on the martyrs' backs: merely to invoke names, however holy, isn't an honest day's work. So with the Holocaust: marrying it doesn't do the work of experiencing it imaginatively in any serious sense. The proof is dismay-



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ingly evident in the novel—nothing follows from the invocation of the infamous executions or from that of the gas chambers either: Walter's life is not changed or even significantly touched by them. Had they never been summoned up he would have gone on cracking wise in quite the same way. And so on. Well, like the man says, Live and Learn. You never know. What else is new? Peace. Emotional blackmail is what it is, extortion, the Watergate principle as applied to the novel, with its own Enemies List: When I say Sacco and Vanzetti, you will weep; Thayer, snarl; the Holocaust, shake your fist at Providence, curse God, change your life, reflect on man's inhumanity to man, the nature of evil. Think long thoughts. If you have trouble thinking, *think* you're thinking, it comes to the same thing. Take a very deep breath and now commence to feel deeply. Continue past exhaustion. In truth, Walter's wife might just as well have been born and raised in Chevy Chase, and never left there.

In Vonnegut, the world may be running down toward extinction, but it is essentially a habitable place, no matter what dire warnings are sounded. Comfy, even; the sorrows are sweet sorrows, happiness a bird of rich plumage and plaintive song.

As in the beginning, so in the end. Pure intentions are rewarded; the one remaining stain removed. Throughout the tale, Vonnegut has been moving toward a grand finale: cellos and muted fluegelhorns. On that fell day in 1949 when young Walter betrayed his best friend by telling the committee of Clews's interesting political biography in order to show the world what a fine chap he (Clews) was, young Nixon, already the skeleton in the nation's closet though still a fuzzy-cheeked boy, asked him another question which, over the years, had slipped Walter's mind. Now, at the novel's end, at a farewell party given him by the Clewses to ease his return to the slammer (for a minor indiscretion), the tape of the H.U.A.C. hearing is played for the assembled guests. Here (as Vonnegut might say) is the question. How is it, Nixon demanded to know, that a poor son of immigrant parents "treated so well by Americans," himself "treated like a son and sent to Harvard by an American capitalist" —how could he be "so ungrateful to the American economic system" as to turn Red, even for a relatively brief time in his youth? And here (as Vonnegut might say) is Walter's reply: "Why? The Sermon on the Mount, sir." At that, though Walter doesn't say so, Nixon must have turned scarlet with shame, trembled for his immortal soul as if before the flaming sword of an avenging angel. Wow! That's telling the slithering snake! If only Walter had added: Deuteronomy, sir. Numbers. Kings. The Apocrypha. Best of all: Acts of the Apostles, sir.

And so, in Vonnegutland, it goes. Peace. □

BOOK NOTES

Short Stories

AMY WILENTZ

HARDWATER COUNTRY. *By Frederick Busch. Alfred A. Knopf. 210 pp. $8.95.*

To judge by this collection, anything Frederick Busch wants to convey in the short-story form, he can. He tells you the small, beautiful truths about the usual short-story subjects: family, neighbors, the different kinds of love. In "The Lesson of the Hôtel Lotti," a woman thinks back on the realization of mortality and mutability that the life and death of her mother's lover brought home to her. In "Widow Water," a plumber who works in a flood region recounts his cellar adventures in the houses where his neighbors' little tragedies occur. Busch writes delicately and accurately about the power and impotence that children have within the family, as in "What You Might as Well Call Love," "My Father, Cont." and others. His stories are somber, but filled with hope; they are, in fact, uplifting, without any palpable attempt on the author's part to moralize. Busch deals with the things that matter.

DAYS. *By Mary Robison. Alfred A. Knopf. 180 pp. $8.95.*

It is futile to approach these twenty stories with the traditional set of literary expectations. Robison's characters are not exactly built; her plots do not really unfold; she certainly does not "explore" her themes. And yet these stories are astounding. Robison is a master of the noticeable detail—she doesn't *use* the technique: it is simply there. Her characters live outside Cleveland, in Florida, in suburbs and in working-class areas. They have the kind of lives one has encountered, or imagined, or lived. Reading *Days* is like flipping the dial on your TV set to find that its fine, small eye is trained on the vagaries of existence, that every channel is broadcasting a segment of a different life, and that you can hear every last word in high fidelity, see everything in close-up, finely tuned.

TESTIMONY AND DEMEANOR. *By John Casey. Alfred A. Knopf. 207 pp. $8.95.*

The showcase of this book, "Connaissance des Arts," fails as a short story (as notes for a teleplay, any of Casey's four stories might work). It takes place in a Midwestern university town where the characters plod about and finally make a movie in what is supposed to be an epiphanic ecstasy, but isn't. Both the story and the movie could have used stronger directors. "Testimony and Demeanor," the final tale in the collection, tells of a young lawyer's first slow years with a Manhattan law firm (Casey studied law himself), and the subject is handled fairly well, though without great effect. It's a muted story, with an honest, inward perception on the part of the narrator that is lacking in the three stories that precede it.

OILERS AND SWEEPERS. *By George Dennison. Random House. 179 pp. $7.95.*

Dennison's book consists of five stories that vary widely in style and in ease of craftsmanship. The first, "Oilers and Sweepers," gives us a series of frames from the life of a factory: The big, hard, bumbling, staggering men who work the assembly line down deep in some factory of the American imagination are portrayed in Sweeneylike detail. The story celebrates the statuesque nobility of the workingman, but does not shirk the ugly details of his life. Dennison's thought is not sentimental and his form here—small chapters with impressionistic headings—works well with the odd, sporadic actions that

Amy Wilentz is the assistant literary editor of The Nation.

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nake up the lives of his men and women. "Larbaud: A Tale of Pierrot" s written more like a traditional story: t relates the life of an *Ubermensch* who finds that, in addition to all his other gifts, he is able to leap prodigious heights (in a single bound)—and it tells of his descent into a Nijinskylike madness, and of his subsequent ascent into the placidity of the final days of a Monet. The story is somewhat belabored—the theme of joyous liberation nto full humanity, and of mankind's fear and hatred of such liberation, is overdone, but the writing has beauty and great clarity, and so the underlying clichés can be ignored. This is Dennison's first work of fiction (he has written plays and nonfiction) and the varying quality of the selections reveals a talented mind exploring fictive voices.

Novels

JAMES N. BAKER

GOODBYE UN-AMERICA. *By James Aldridge. Little, Brown and Company. 257 pp. $8.95.*

Someday, a good novelist—I nominate William Styron—is going to wax passionate on the issues of the Communist witch hunts of the 1940s, and fill a shameful gap in the fiction of America. Robert Coover's eccentric *The Public Burning* didn't do it; this knockoff of the Hiss-Chambers case doesn't either. Written by British novelist James Aldridge, it's a little too thin, a bit too insistently detached.

THE DROWNING SEASON. *By Alice Hoffman. E.P. Dutton. 212 pp. $8.95.*

Esther the White is a tyrannical Long Island matriarch, dying of cancer. Not once in her unhappy life has she permitted anyone to *know* her. It's too late to reach her chronically suicidal son; he chooses instead another enemy: Esther the Black, her stifled granddaughter. Much of Alice Hoffman's prose here is self-consciously stylized, and this, her second novel, betrays a talented writer's eagerness to try something different. But her book is finally a study of redemption, as moving as John Cheever's *Falconer.*

PASSENGER. *By Thomas Keneally. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 241 pp. $8.95.*

Jolted into awareness by a laser beam, the narrator of Thomas Keneally's new novel is a male fetus. From his "black duchy of the amnion," he keeps nervous, witty tabs on his parents' quarrels about abortion, his father's compulsive infidelities, his imperiled mother's escape from England to Australia. This is actually a penetrating look at the terrors of father- and sonhood from a bizarre viewpoint, and the real miracle here is that it works. □

James N. Baker is a freelance writer who lives in New York City.

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

Federico Fellini, whose habit it is to offend the sensibilities of his fellow Italians, is at it again in a film with the precisely accurate title, *Orchestra Rehearsal,* and an explanatory subtitle, "The Decline of the West in C# Major." Beginning with *La Dolce Vita,* Fellini has made a series of films dealing with moral and social decadence; here he turns allegorically to political chaos and violence. Despite the broad application suggested by the subtitle, the Italians have taken the indictment and prophecy of the film personally and raised a fierce ruckus—or so one gathers from a *New York Times* article of last February by Melton Davis, which the American distributors are handing out at previews. Why this should be, I don't quite see, even granting that Italians are vociferous by tradition, for not even the most patriotic of them would assert today that the country is sailing on a firm course to a serene future. Fellini is dealing with unpleasant truths, but he is scarcely the first to point them out; and in any case his lash, it seems to me, is less excruciating than it has sometimes been. The film was made to be shown on Italian state television (fat chance, it seems) and he may have felt the need to keep the analogies very simple; the effect, I think, is a little simple-minded. It goes like this:

The members of an orchestra assemble for rehearsal in a deconsecrated chapel, a beautiful old room chosen for its excellent acoustics. The session is to be televised and the musicians are questioned (voice of Fellini) about their instruments; almost without exception they testify to the special virtues of, and their deep affection for, whatever it is they play. The remarks are entirely egocentric; no suggestion of a group spirit emerges. That, perhaps, is why they have a new conductor. He enters, raps for attention, and the rehearsal begins. After a few bars, he raps again and launches into an attack on the company for its artistic deficiencies and slovenly habits. He is a German, a martinet, a man given to shouting *Achtung* and expressing his dissatisfaction in vividly personal terms. The rehearsal continues, with no greater success; the players begin to show resentment by ostentatious inattention and overt protest. After several such false starts, accompanied by steadily rising tempers on the stand and in the ranks, the union representative calls a break so that his members may compose themselves.

Earlier, the conductor had said, "We're trying to construct something, exactly for what purpose I've never understood," but now in his dressing room he describes his job in terms of the intoxicating power ("I own the world, I am king") it bestows on him—or should bestow if, as in former days, respect were paid to authority. When he returns to the hall, the place is in an uproar: rude messages have been scrawled on the wall; mud, or worse, is being flung at portraits of Beethoven and Mozart; a giant metronome has been installed at the conductor's desk; the female pianist is tumbling on the floor with a colleague, and in general the players are asserting their right to do their things, however idiotic.

Vague rumblings have been heard from time to time since the session began, and now alarming cracks appear in the walls; suddenly a wrecking ball breaks through, scattering plaster and obscuring the room in dust. The frightened musicians look to the conductor; he takes up his baton, encourages them to "hang onto the notes," and the rehearsal resumes with propriety. But the German still will not be satisfied. He starts to admonish the group; soon he is screaming. He switches to his native tongue, the better to employ his authoritarian eloquence, and the film ends in guttural abuse and

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cries of *Achtung*.

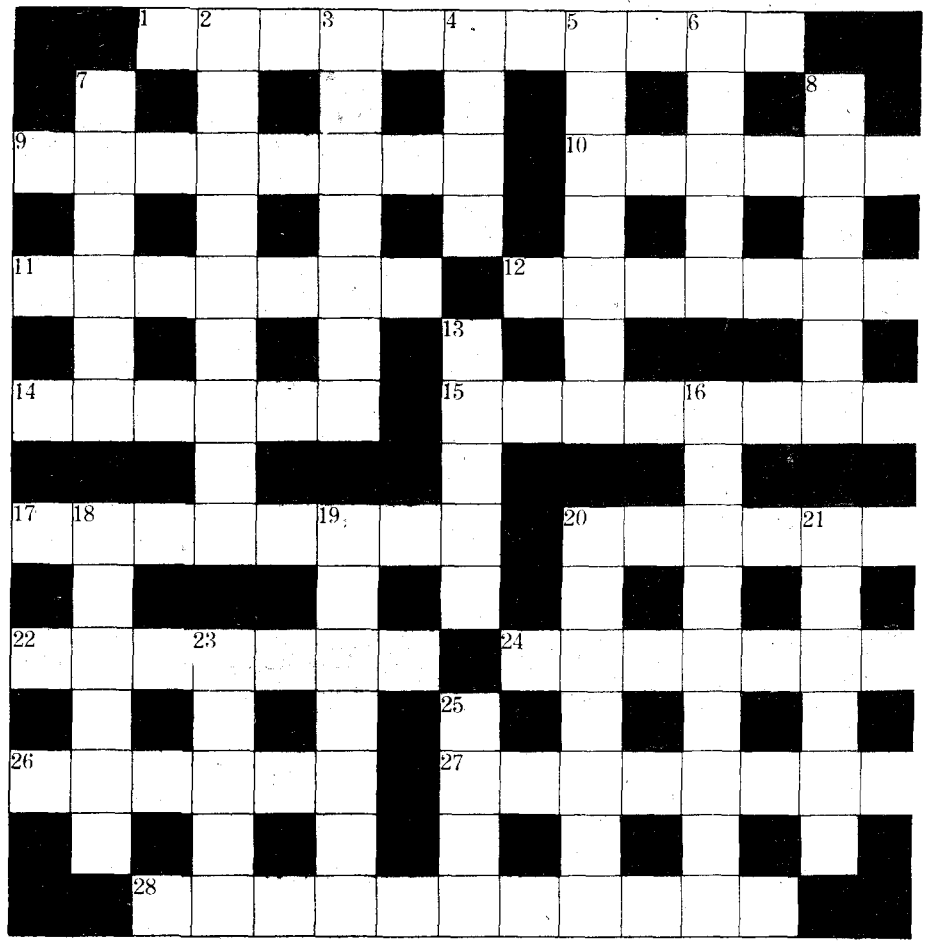
The message is clear enough, if perhaps a little simplistic: shape up, do your jobs, show some responsibility toward the society of which you are a part—in short, discipline yourselves, for if you don't, someone will come along to discipline you. In the present Italian context, it seems cogent advice, nor would I deny that it has wider application. But somehow the bite does not seem very sharp.

One problem, I think, is that Fellini has chosen an unfortunate model for his parable. Orchestra musicians, by and large, are a rebellious breed. For the most part, they are gifted and many of them slaved for years to achieve virtuoso careers that narrowly escaped their grasps. They are highly individualistic, fiercely proud of their skills, and yet they are forced to submit to the will of a conductor whom they have not chosen and of whose ability they are often scornful. The shoptalk of orchestra players sparks with comment on the oafish behavior of their current master; the good conductor is last season's conductor and great is the laughter at the subtle tricks they have played on the reigning maestro.

So *Orchestra Rehearsal* might readily be understood, at least until the closing scene, as an instrumentalist's dream of sweet vengeance on the bête noir of his trade. And this interpretation would be encouraged by the fact that the cast, with the exception of the conductor (Baldwin Baas), is composed not of actors but of musicians. Being amateurs, they appear self-conscious, they are aware of the camera, they tend to preen and giggle, there seems to be more pretense than passion in their rages. This is how they might behave among themselves to demonstrate how a visiting celebrity could be given his comeuppance, if they cared to bell that cat. For all the cracking of walls and intrusion of wrecking ball, the atmosphere of the film is more that of a comic charade than of a solemn admonition, and the notion of an orchestra kicking over the traces is not sufficiently fantastic to make a strong metaphorical point. However, as TV preaching the piece might have helped the public, in Italy or wherever, to face the crisis of government in ruins. Unfortunately, you can always depend on an establishment to protect itself with pompous allegations of slander from what it sees as a cry for new ways. □

Crossword Puzzle No. 1787

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 It's nothing to put an identification on food for beast and man, as a reputed 25-maker. (4,7)
9 Finally the dictator might, correspondingly—it shows the way. (8)
10 Out of commission, yet just opposite to what arms are when peace is made. (4,2)
11 Having to do with the movement of cattle with what sounds like a pest. (7)
12 See 26 across
14 Implying great shape, as one can tell. (6)
15 Does one have a special fare for servicemen? (4,4)
17 Do they have a view from above, or a vista that's different? (8)
20 A fine place for a friend—and one of those good and early 17, too! (6)
22 Are going after private school, in order to get ready. (7)
24 Babyhood, in what is free for ballet. (7)
26 and 12 Where one stands with ten, which isn't very much. (4,2,7)
27 Minced pies and poetry—they tell only part of the story. (8)
28 Not what a guest does to steal the silver—a good scout might have several handy things with it. (11)

DOWN

2 Nominates for an unusual position of state. (9)
3 An element of hatred attached to a factor that is often present. (7)
4 Anne had a way with this, or has at one time (4)
5 Gets old and cries about nothing that's to th point. (7)
6 One might discover him as a person of unusua religious persuasion. (5)
7 See 8 down
8 and 7 The old Swiss-Italian dream of improvin communications—considered a detriment t modern thinking. (6,6)
13 In a faulty manner, sometimes said to be a good as 5,280 feet. (5)
16 Supposedly an improvement over none o what 1 across might have settled for. . . . (4-1-4)
18 . . . . . along with these, if sub-arboreal. (6)
19 Does it hold the propeller? (7)
20 A writer is up on what the retiring type migh expect. (7)
21 Prepared to fire—an old-hat description. (6)
23 Lemurine type going to pot? Quite the othe way around! (5)
25 In this is purpose! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1786

ACROSS: 1 Prince Charming; 9 Topmas 10 Cake mix; 11 Nestlings; 12 Tuner; 13 Greasec 15 Openers; 16 Orphans; 18 Sweaters; 20 Wrun 21 Hearth rug; 23 Roister; 24 Offsid 25 Change partners. DOWN: 1 Put in a goo word; 2 Impasse; 3 Charles Laughton; 4 Cut i 5 Accustoms; 6 Make the best of it; 7 Nomine 8 Express regrets; 14 Discharge; 17 Prudis 19 Termite; 22 Agora.

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You knew the old *Post*?

Sure, I knew all the big ones. *McClure's.* Always muck, muck, muck, *Liberty.* Nice fellow, *Liberty.* "This article will take you 3 minutes, 45 seconds to read," he'd say, and we'd both laugh.

How about the newer magazines? Do you know them?

Oh sure. I remember *Politicks.* Poor fellow, died young. And *Viva*—never could make up his/her mind. Then there was *New Times*—he's gone too. Had a weak heart—took up *Running.* One thing I can't stand is this new trend to celebrity journalism—all those personality articles.

What's the matter, don't you like people?

No, I don't like *People.*

Some of those old magazines have been revived—*Life*, *Look*, even *The Saturday Evening Post.*

Yeah, they went to Switzerland and had those operations. They're nice—cute, but not the same.

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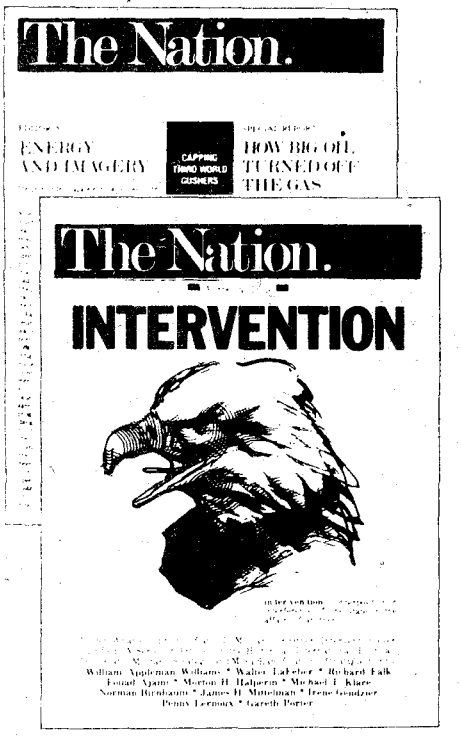

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